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A COURSE OF LECTURES

ON

MODERN HISTORY.

&c.

A

COURSE OF LECTURES

OF

MODERN HISTORY;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

HISTORICAL ESSAYS ON THE BEGINNING OF OUR HISTORY, AND ON CÆSAR AND ALEXANDER.

Friedrich von Schlegel III

BY

FREDERICK SCHLEGEL.

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PREFACE.

These Lectures were held at Vienna, in the year 1810, royal permission, and are now published, except a few erations, precisely as they were delivered.

It was my first wish to place these Lectures in the hands my hearers. To some passages, especially those which are irely based upon special and novel researches, it would ve been perhaps more appropriate to add remarks upon ose topics of inquiry, which could not well be discussed in al delivery, as well as to adduce the less known authorities. ch was at first my intention. Most of the remarks, how-er, would have swollen into treatises; the character of the ork would thereby have become totally changed, and several ars would probably have elapsed before its completion.

I believed, however, that several of those, who in Germany, elsewhere, where the German language is known, pay tention to, and take an interest in, my labours, would prefer have these reflections on modern times at once, and in the ery form in which they now appear.

As I have for several years devoted my leisure hours most exclusively to history,—not to general history only, but ore particularly to that of my country,—I trust to have isure and opportunity subsequently to enter more fully into any topics, that in this work I could only lightly touch pon.

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LECTURES

ON

MODERN HISTORY.

LECTURE I.

THE VALUE OF HISTORY, AND ON THE ORIGINAL STATE OF MEN IN EUROPE AND GERMANY.

THERE are three subjects which chiefly attract the attention of educated men, and occupy the leisure, which the ...ies of life and their social position leave them: the ...losophy of life,—the enjoyment of the fine arts,—and the ...dy of history.

All three are adapted in various ways to exalt and enrich ... inward man. They are in this respect equally indis...sable. Yet it is pre-eminently from the study of his...y, that all these endeavours after a higher mental culture ...ve their fixed centre and support,—viz., their common ...rence to man, his destinies and energies. Without a know...ge of the mighty past, the philosophy of life, however ...h it may enchant by wit, or transport by eloquence, will ...er be able to carry us beyond the limits of the present, ... of the narrow circle of our customs and immediate ...ciations. Even the higher philosophy itself, that most ...ing, and for that very reason, a noble aspiration of human ...ught, can never with impunity neglect a constant retrospec... of the history of man's development and of his mental ...rgies, as it would otherwise infallibly be entangled and ... in the unintelligible. History, on the contrary, if it ...s not stop at the mere enumeration of names, dates, and ...ernal facts; if it seizes on and sets forth the spirit of great ...es, of great men, and great events, is in itself a true phi...ophy, intelligible to all, and certain, and in its manifold ...lications the most instructive. The value of the fine arts

for all higher mental culture is acknowledged. But with the earnestness which they acquire only by their relation the destinies and history of man, they would ever be in dan of becoming an empty pastime—a mere revel of the imagi tion. The meaning of the most admirable and highest p ductions of the plastic arts and of poetry becomes rea perceptible to us, only when we can enter into the spirit the times out of which they sprang, or which they set for If philosophy more immediately engages the understandi if the fine arts occupy the feelings and the imagination, so h tory, on the other hand, claims the whole attention of m and all the faculties of his soul alike; or at least it ought do so, if it would correspond to its high destination.

Thus history, if not in itself the most brilliant, is yet most indispensable link in that beautiful chain, which compasses man's higher intellectual culture: and history i which binds the others more closely together. But anot and very special motive for the study of history is to derived from the extraordinary and surprising events of present times.* Reflection on the mighty past,—the kno ledge of it can alone enable us to take a calm steady survey the present, to measure its greatness or its littleness, and form a just judgment respecting it.

Thus are the simplest things generally the most exalt History constitutes the apparently easy and first element all instruction; and yet the more cultivated the mind of man is, the more multiplied opportunities will he find of app ing it and turning it to use, the more will he discern its ri ness, and divine its deeper sense. Indeed, no thinker is profound as to be able to anticipate with accuracy the cou of history, no scholar so learned as to think he has exhaus it, or has come to the bottom of it, and no sovereign powerful that he may with impunity disregard its sil teaching.

It is a great merit of our age to have renovated the stu of history, and to have cultivated it with extraordinary ze The English had the honour of leading the way in this no career. The Germans have followed them with success. would be easy to name one or two of our great historia who, at least as regards the happy combination of int

* A.D. 1810.

learning, and fertility of ideas, might be preferred to most celebrated English historians. On the other hand, merit of a more equable and finished execution is incomably more frequent among the historians of England than ermany. Yet the difference of taste and difference of on respecting the art of historical narration may cause a t diversity of opinions as to the comparative value of our onal and of foreign historians. It is, nevertheless, certain we possess in the German language a rich treasure of rical research, profoundly instructive, and in part en- y new. Within the last two or three decades alone, so has been achieved and produced in this department, historical knowledge has been perhaps as much extended at short space of time as formerly in as many centuries. espite these acquisitions, however, history on another is still defective enough; historic truth, still here and , veiled by many clouds of error.

hat history is written with partiality is a universal com- t. In the ordinary and literal sense this complaint t not to be made, if we survey history from a lofty point iew. If, in his narrative, a writer of history has in view ly the advantage of some individual state, or some other al political object, and not the general interests of man- and the progress of human destinies, in that case he may erhaps, a skilful advocate, an able orator, a distinguished ical writer, but by no means is he an historian. But if a ine historian sets before us facts, as they are, without ication, and with the strictest conscientiousness,—for so required, and so it is self-evident he ought to do,—and if respect to his views and opinions,—without which it is ssible to write history, or at least a lively historic narra- he frankly states the principles of belief and right h determine his views and opinions, then we cannot com- with justice, for he himself furnishes us with the means sily ascertaining how far we can agree with him or not. artiality we ought not to accuse him, even if we should from him in opinion; or at least the word has then no r any very reprehensible sense. In general it is in history life itself, where it may often be more praiseworthy to se and join the right party, than to remain without any , ever neutral and indifferent. The example of a great

Roman writer will best serve to illustrate my meani
Tacitus opens his two immortal works, of different tendenc
with the same assertion, that they were written witho
hate as without love. In this, perhaps, he only alluded to
own personal relations under this or that particular emper
which might indeed more readily occur to his contemporari
But if his expressions were to be taken strictly, we shou
then do him an injustice. For it is precisely the hi
moral hate, everywhere glowing through his pages, and t
exalted love visible in them; the hate, namely, of unrigh
ous despotism and degrading vice, and the decided watch
love for everything high-minded, for everything worthy
better times; these things it is that render his works i
mortal, that have given them an imperishable value for
ages. Not impartial is Tacitus—this any one, without intell
or love, can easily be. No! he is in the highest degree parti
but his partiality is for the right party, and expressed i
just and noble manner.

Far more than by this much-dreaded partiality of write
if such it can be called, is history falsified, and that is,
a partiality of quite a different kind, which is in fact a def
of sensibility,—a narrowness of mind. It is exceedin
difficult for man to tear himself from the circle of his hab
These habits, the whole present, our own age, with all its
visible associations, form a kind of spiritual atmosph
around us, which necessarily wraps the forms of the past as
a mist. Hence the many erroneous, or rather feeble, in
curate, spiritless views and judgments on great times t
have passed away,—on men and deeds which exceed
habitual standard.

To remove obstructive views of this kind, to bring the p
its heroes and its deeds, before our eyes, in their true for
and in their full force, shall now be my chief endeavour.

To sketch a faithful picture of the last few centur
so eventful and remarkable, we must go back to
middle ages, and to the earlier history of Germany. T
migration of the northern nations is the wall of separat
that divides the ancient and the modern world. The ins
tutions, laws, and customs of the latter, down to our own tim
are founded on the primitive constitution of the Germa
and we must place before our eyes what Europe was bef

after the Crusades, in order to judge what effect the
overy of the two Indies might have had upon her whole
l system, and what effect it actually had. A short
ch, therefore, of the ancient Germans, and a compressed
unt of the middle ages, will precede our reflections on
ern history.

We shall begin with the great migration of the northern
ons, an event, equally astonishing in itself, as immeasurable
s consequences. Astonishing—for never, perhaps, did a
e of things,—so utterly desolate and hopeless,—a prostra-
and humiliation so universal—such a subjugation of
ything good, afflict the whole civilized world, as in the
r times of the declining empire of Rome! Yet de-
ance arrived in a manner the most unexpected. The
d became impregnated with a new vital force, and coun-
which had been formerly civilized flourished anew, if
more civilized, yet certainly freer, happier, and nobler,
they were, even in the better times of antiquity. Other
s and nations,—less favoured by nature, that had hitherto
ed in poverty and simplicity, although in a state of free-
,—quickly rivalled in blooming prosperity, and in the
vation of the arts, the more fortunate south. Immeasur-
were the consequences of this migration of nations for
whole of modern history; all that has been developed
ng the last fifteen hundred years by the noble rivalry of
many and such great national energies, has thereby
e been brought about. Had this migration not taken
e; had the Germanic nations not succeeded in throw-
off the Roman yoke; had, on the contrary, the rest of
ern Europe been incorporated with Rome; had the
dom and individuality of the nations been ere too de-
ed, and had they been all transformed wi h like uni-
ity into provinces, then would that noble rivalry, that
development of the human mind, which distinguishes
ern nations, have never taken place. And yet it is pre-
y this rich variety, this manifoldness, that makes
ope what it is, that confers on it the distinction of being
chief seat of all human civilization. Instead of a
ope, thus free and richly diversified, there would then
e been but one Rome, wherein all things would have been
ed down and dissolved; and where, instead of the rich

variety of European history, the annals of the single Roma empire would have presented us with a counterpart to th dull monotony of the Chinese year-books. Who would n prefer a state of simplicity and free nature to such a Chine civilization, founded upon universal abasement?

This migration of the northern nations is nothing el save the history of the wars between the free German races and the Roman masters of the world; wars whi terminated in the dissolution of the Roman empire, and the foundation and first formation of the modern states an nations. A retrospective survey of the methods whereb the Romans attained to universal dominion, as well as of th genius of decay, which from an early period lurked in th Roman empire; a sketch of the peculiarities in the German race and mind, in their manners and their constitution; an finally, a rapid glance at the wars between the Romans an the Germans,—both before and after that Arminius, who wi unshaken perseverance and self-devotion, maintained Germa independence,—these are the most essential points for a cle view of this great historical event.

Let us first cast a glance at the primitive state of th whole of Europe. It is a remarkable and attractive spectac to contemplate men who were so richly endowed by natur and gifted with such noble faculties, in a state so totally di ferent from that to which we are accustomed. Before th passion for universal dominion had been transmitted fro Asia to the Greeks, and had next taken possession of th Romans, the state of Europe was, on the whole, nearly every where the same. The rudiments of civilization were alread known; agriculture was general; and some countries were pr portionately thickly peopled. Towns were numerous, but the were likewise almost as many individual petty states as co siderable towns. Everything was, for the most part, isolat and unconnected. Europe was inhabited and peopled chief by three or four great nations; but none of these we united among themselves so as to form a whole. Each them were split into numberless petty tribes and races, co stituting as many distinct states. Each of these tribes h but a slender knowledge of the remoter ones, and oft carried on war with the adjoining. But as war was wag with such isolated forces, and not in great masses as it

ng powerful states in a higher stage of civilization, it was
e less destructive than among the latter, and served but
evelope and exercise courage and other martial and manly
ities.

Vith many important differences of detail, the faith and
hip of these nations rested on one common basis. Their
was an adoration of nature, her most glorious phe-
ena, and her hidden primal energies and mysteries. The
and the stars, fire, the sea, and the elements; the mother
herself, awful mountains, sacred groves and springs, were
bjects of this nature-worship, mingled as it was with tra-
ns and fables of ancient heroes, and concerning the earlier
of the earth and men. Many, indeed most of the con-
ences and arts of life that have now become habitual to us,
then still unknown to the German, especially in the north.
he other hand, a deep and strong love for nature filled
breast with a joyous energy of life, whose sources are
too often dried up in the relations of more artificial
ty. Necessitous as the condition of these ancient nations
appear to us, they yet almost universally possessed one
good, which we have for the most part been obliged to
fice for other advantages,—freedom, to wit. It was
red and maintained by their isolation and universal sub-
ion into petty states and tribes. This original freedom
be considered the decided characteristic of Europe as
rasted with Asia. In Asia we find from the very begin-
great masses of states, and nations, and universal sove-
ity; in Europe everything was originally isolated; there
for that very reason, a constant mutual rivalry, and each
developed itself in individual freedom. Asia may be
l the land of unity, in which everything has been
ded in great masses, and in the simplest relations;
pe is the land of freedom, that is, of civilization through
ntagonism of manifold individual and isolated energies.
variety has been at all times the characteristic of Euro-
civilization; for even after great states and nations had
ng up within it, the essential qualities of that original
acter remained. It has often been the unhappy conse-
ce of excessive subdivision, that although it has been
urable to freedom, yet, national unity, in spite of the
ts to attain it, could not be realized. This was the

case among the Greeks, and in a great measure also amc
the Germans. Nature herself had adapted Europe to t
state of subdivision, by the many great and smaller secti
into which European countries are divided by means of mo
tains and seas. The circumstance that Europe was peop
from Asia,—that all old European nations were origina
Asiatic emigrants,—may also have been favourable to fr
dom. Colonies and emigrant tribes are ever prone there
the bonds of habit are left behind in the mother-country, a
the original condition of society is restored. This rule h
good in the most ancient times, precisely as it has b
evinced in the most recent.

The remarks we have made upon the state of Europe
general, are peculiarly applicable to that of the Greek nati
In the earlier times it was divided into numberless pe
states and tribes, which were connected only by their comn
origin, language, and mythology. It was only in conseque
of the Persian invasions, that large states began to be forn
in Greece, and ambition to take a bolder flight. For wh
by the utmost exertion of all their energies and courage,
Greeks had successfully maintained their independence agai
superior force, the necessity of union was felt, and the sma
states rallied around two of the most considerable. But p
cisely because there were two, was the germ of jealousy
of internal discord already laid. Thus Sparta and Ath
speedily became the centres of two parties, that were spr
over the whole of Greece, and were animated with q
opposite principles. Sparta, agreeably to its nature a
land-power, was more favourable to the nobility, and
came the head of the aristocratic party. Athens, being
commercial state, and therefore more inclined to the clas
burgesses and to civic freedom, became the centre of
democratic party. How the Greeks themselves destroyed th
own national strength in this grand struggle between Ath
and Sparta, between aristocracy and democracy, this, as p
trayed by the great historians of antiquity, is even still
of the most instructive historic pictures. The Greek nat
as a nation, perished utterly through this mutual destruct
of its two mightiest and most distinguished races. Only h
and there did a spark appear among the ashes, and but o
again, in Alexander the Great, did Grecian energy b

into a brilliant flame, to be once more speedily extin-
ied. If it can be averred of any conqueror of the
ent world, that he had the power and the will not merely
estroy, but also to build up and found anew,—that he
original, bold, and great ideas,—it may be averred of
ander; and in these ideas he was passionately enthusi-
, not coolly calculating, like Cæsar. It may be asked,
her the consequences to the world would not have been
er and more lasting, if Alexander, as his teacher Aris-
wished, and more than once expressed the wish, had
ned himself to Europe, instead of seeking Eastern con-
s,—if he had wholly subjugated the Greeks, and thereby
ded them into one nation, under a monarchy founded
legal freedom? If in this manner, during their flou-
ng period, they had been cemented into a mighty whole,
one nation, which indeed they never were, the Greeks
l have presented a noble spectacle to the world and to
ry. But at that time such a scheme would have been
ely practicable. They were too divided, already tho-
ly corrupted, and all their energies extinct. In that case,
robable reward of Alexander would have been failure
ngratitude. Be that, however, as it may, an irresistible
lse urged Alexander towards Asia. The municipal
cter of the constitution and social system of the Greeks,
petty spirit of contention, and their over-refinement,
ave appeared too narrow and contracted to his great mind.
ecided predilection for Oriental grandeur breaks out
gh his whole life, and was made matter of reproach
st him by the more narrow-minded of the Greeks. It
perhaps, have been his leading idea to wish to fuse together
tal greatness and Grecian refinement, and combine in a
ct social and political system the respective advantages
rope and Asia. On his death, however, the incoherent
nts were again disjoined, and the whole structure fell to
s. Among the several Græco-Macedonian kingdoms
were now formed in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and
ce, relations speedily arose that bear a striking resem-
e to certain epochs in modern history. Standing armies,
es that were concluded or altered with as much display
e arts of diplomacy as ever modern times have known,—
e word, a recognised system of the balance of power.

This produced the same consequences at that period, as in sequel it has produced in every age, and always will prod Perpetual wars,—namely, because the scales of the artif balance never stand altogether motionless, but ever inc towards one side, or at least appear so to do,—and after perpetual wars, mutual exhaustion and general disorg ation. That one might not become too powerful, t Grecian states enfeebled each other so much, that at last were all weak enough to be easily conquered by a new unlooked-for power.

This destiny had Rome in the meanwhile been growin to fulfil. With a population, with manners, laws, and toms derived from the different nations that peopled ce Italy, Rome, surrounded as she was by several pow states, was necessitated, even from her origin, to carr war, in order to defend herself, and to preserve the territ she had wrested from the latter. The cause of this ceas succession of wars lay in the Roman constitution i Indescribably severe was the oppression exercised on people by the nobility. The people, moreover, were restless; but the means of warding off danger, when war had become a habit, were always at hand. War need only be perpetuated; patricians and plebeians loved it; but the patricians gained by it the most su and now and then, by allowing the people to share in so its advantages, any pressing danger would be easily ave and the storm be once more laid. When in respe her claims in Sicily and Spain, her growing aggrandize had brought Rome in contact with Carthage, the power had long been gathering together were suddenly develop an extent of greatness, that amazed the contemporary w as it has done all succeeding ages. The struggle with thage, on which the very existence of Rome was staked, called forth her highest efforts, and which brought her t verge of destruction: this struggle it was that impart her that loftiness of spirit; that magnanimity which tinued to exist even in subsequent times. This greatne magnanimity, portrayed as they are by eloquent histo only too often lead us to forget much in the history of and in her dealings with the rest of the world, but w viewed with the eye of humanity, cannot appear othe

oth reprehensible and pernicious. Now had the power
ne become irresistible; and it was easy for the Romans
an end to the game of the balance of power among
ecian states and kingdoms. At first interfering with
and apparent love of justice, they quickly began to
a bolder tone, and at last dropping the mask, and
ng aside all reserve, they announced and assigned to
ojugated nations their long decided lot.
ler was their task to subdue, or rather to extirpate, the
of western and northern Europe. The warlike in-
nts of Spain, as well as the Celtic nations, were at
almost wholly subjugated; and so were even several
nic tribes. But among the latter the national strength
no means crushed; by them mankind was shortly to
d, for Rome was now hurrying with rapid steps, to
evitable downfal. It was no longer the patrician
but powerful individuals aiming at sovereignty, who,
e latter times, promoted warfare, and used devastated
es, or half-exterminated nations, as means for amass-
alth, and as instruments of their ambition. Through
ife of parties, the establishment of despotism, the in-
e result of anarchic freedom in any state, was already
d, when the ever-memorable contest between Rome
e Germanic nations broke out. Thus had this malady
lust of power, the thirst after universal dominion—
and been transplanted from Asia constantly westward,
last taken deep root in the midst of Europe.
us now cast a glance at the state of northern Europe.
great and distinct races dwelt in central and northern
e. The Celts inhabited upper Italy, the Alps, the
of central France, a part of Spain, and the British
The Germans occupied Germany and the Scandina-
ingdoms; for at that time the Suiones or Swedes, and
ner inhabitants of those northern states, were accounted
ns, and constituted one people with them. It was not
g afterwards that the German language and nation, pro-
o called, took a peculiar development, and became dis-
rom the kindred Scandinavian race and language in Den-
and Sweden. One-third of Gaul, the north-western part,
the name of Belgium, was peopled not by Celts alone, but
by tribes, either purely Germanic, or of the two races
The earliest European seats of the Germanic nations

were in the northern parts of Germany, in the Netherla
Denmark, the south of Sweden and Norway, along the co
of the Baltic, and also towards the west on those of the Atla
At a later period only did central and southern Germ
become generally cultivated, and inhabited principally
Germans. By reason of its effects, this circumstance i
great importance. The Celts were the first who occupied
Alps, and perhaps many districts also between those mo
tains and the Danube ; German tribes may subsequently h
mingled among them, and hence Roman authors speal
semi-Germanic tribes upon the Alps. But it was only w
a great German nation, the Suabians, and the Swiss,
were akin to them, migrated from the more northern distr
and from the coasts of the Baltic to their present seats,
the country between the Maine, the Danube, and the A
as well as a part of the latter, became wholly German. T
on the lower Danube, in the north of Greece and up to
Carpathian mountains, Celtic, and perhaps even Ger
tribes, also existed, is probable. Some of the latter, as
pears by certain names, and by other circumstances,
intermingled with the Gauls, who from this quarter
penetrated into Greece, and ultimately settled in
Minor.

The eastern neighbours of the Germans were, two th
sand years ago, as at the present day, the wide-sp
Sclavonic nations. The Romans, who were really acquai
only with the western and southern frontier-districts of
many, and knew little or nothing of the interior, are uncer
in their assignment of boundaries between the two. As to s
of these Eastern people, the writer who had most knowl
of Germany says, he was unable to decide whether they
Germans or Sarmatians. Perhaps from the Oder to
Vistula, or even still more easterly as far as modern Liv
and Lithuania, German and Sclavonian, as well as other tri
dwelled together. They were not intermixed, however,
lived side by side, in the same manner as in Hungary and
Turkish empire, several nations of totally different langu
and origin, have done for centuries, without being blend
each preserving its peculiar language and customs. Eve
that early period, varied intercourse and manifold relat
seem to have existed between the Germanic and Sclavo
nations

s is the more probable, as in the principal expeditions of
ermans during the time of the Goths, we find many non-
anic tribes associated with them, of whom some pro-
and others most certainly, were of the Sclavonic race.
is of the above-named three great nations, the Germans,
om we are at present more immediately treating, pos-
the most northern seats. It even seems as though
ad designedly penetrated as far as possible towards the
Now if the existence of widely-spread species of
ticated animals originally indigenous to Asia; if the
rs and customs, the mythology, the universal traditions,
bove all, the languages of the European nations, incon-
ibly prove that they had all, earlier or later, immigrated
Asia; then the question may well be asked: what could
ossibly induced the Germanic nation to abandon their
r dwelling-places, and to seek an abode in the rude,
ie north? It was undoubtedly not necessity alone.
at time, the earth was not so thickly peopled, as to
io room for choice; and it would not have been difficult
em to find settlements elsewhere. We must, perhaps,
ie reason of this singular phenomenon in the sentiments
agas of antiquity. Though an altogether satisfactory
o the question can scarcely be expected, yet it is at least
orthy, that the Indians, precisely the most southern
c people, transfer the most glorious and perfect region
earth,—the terrestrial paradise,—which we generally
r in the south, to the extreme north. They conceive it
i the form of a vast mountain, and to be the seat of every
f wealth. To have climbed and conquered this won-
mountain, is one of the highest adventures fabled of
gods or deified heroes. Hence have some English
rs gone so far as to seek the derivation of the name
navia from Scanda, one of those Indian deified heroes,
om that adventure is ascribed. Hazardous and inad-
le as this supposition may appear, it is yet certain that
y to the earliest events in the history of nations, is not
ought for in what we call policy, nor even in physical
ities alone, which are apt more immediately to occur to
it much rather in their mythology, that is, in their
os incorrect and vague, but still poetical conceptions
agas. Strange as these may appear to us at the first

glance, still upon the minds of these primitive men t
exercised a marvellously powerful influence.

Thus much as to the situation of the Germans betw
their eastern and western neighbours. We have alre
ventured to cast a passing glance at their early origin
first migrations; but the territory they possessed in Eur
by reason of its great influence on the national characte
also well worthy of our attentive consideration. In despit
her northern situation, Germany has many and great adv
tages. She possesses in fullest measure that first condi
of all fertility in a country,—a rich abundance of great
small rivers, intersecting her on every side. In this first
most important quality of a fruitful and lovely region,
surpasses many other European lands, and equals the n
favoured. Even the great plains and flats, that stre
towards the sea on the coasts of the North Sea and the Ba
are in part fruitful, and only a few tracts are rendered w
and barren by the sand. At the period we are speaking
however, the fertility of the German soil, which in l
times has made Germany a flourishing and proportionatel
very populous country, was by no means developed by car
husbandry. Another peculiarity, too, had even then
greatest influence on the national mind and disposition.
elevated situation, and numberless mountains, distinguish
country from those immediately adjacent on the north-
and south-west; namely, France and Poland, which
incomparably lower. The lofty Alps in the south, the Ries
gebirge towards the east, towards the west the mountain
the Vosges in Alsace; then the mountains of Treves along
Moselle: on this side the Rhine the heights of the Black
rest, the mountains of the middle Rhine and in the Wette
which on the one side towards the sea gradually sink do
and on the other, to the north, unite with the Harz mo
tains; all these make our old Germany a land universa
girdled and interwoven with mountains of the most va
elevation and nature. In this respect, indeed, within Euro
she can only be compared with Spain.

The internal treasures of these mountains (and they
very considerable) were not brought to light before the
covery of America. But the greater was the wealth of liv
feelings,—enthusiastic, strong, and joyous,—which the subli

of nature in their land called forth and preserved ever
n the breast of the German nations. The power exercised
ture and her outward forms over men is incomparably
r than is commonly supposed, even in the state of arti-
civilization; and still more mighty is it in that con-
of primitive simplicity, when man himself stands in a
relation to nature, and has therefore a deeper, more
d feeling for her. What impression, indeed, can a
however fertile, make upon the soul? none, but that
ility. There is nothing there to lead the mind away
houghts on the labours and earnings of men, to elevate
ve the sphere of vulgar wants. It in fact only raises
stions as to the products of the soil, and the abundance
he degree of perfection which they attain to. How
different is the impression made upon the soul by
ed mountainous regions?
ure there stands visible before us, as it were, in all her
y; in the presence of these rocks, the speaking monu-
of her greatness, the primitive fragments of antecedent
ons, our views become expanded and exalted; we are led
o the thousands of years that have gone before us;
nd everything petty and narrow, disappear. A similar
ssion to that made by beautiful mountain-scenery, is
ced by lofty, primeval forests, little touched by the
of man, where oaks of a thousand years, (as in Ger-
according to the description of the elder Pliny,) form,
heir clustering and intertwining roots and boughs, high
, galleries, and figures, strangely like to the daring
uctions of human art, but only grander, more life-like,
eer, as if raised for a great temple of nature.
ividual Romans were not wanting, as is proved by the
e referred to in Pliny, in taste for the high natural
es of the German land; in general, however, they
y the north as very rugged. So it may be even now
in comparison with Italy; but the expressions of the
ns, and their descriptions of Germany, are too dispro-
nate and exaggerated for the real and present condition of
untry. The question has been raised whether Germany
ot formerly colder, whether the climate has not to some
been modified by the more perfect cultivation of the
As to central and southern Germany, the question

may be answered in the affirmative. This whole tract
undoubtedly much ruder and much colder, as nearly its en
extent was covered over by one great continuous forest, si
remnants of which we still see in the Black Forest,
Spesshart, the Harz, and the Thuringian and Bohen
forests. That the lower northern districts of Germany, h
ever, lying nearer to the sea, were formerly colder than t
we have no reason whatever to assume. On the contr
putting aside the particular causes, arising from larger for
and from still greater number and mass of lakes and wa
hollows, naturalists incline to the opinion as the most
bable, that the earth is growing gradually, although slo
colder. Within historical times, the frozen ocean has
creased towards the south; in northern countries and
mountain summits, traces of a flourishing vegetation,
longing to a period of time not very remote, are still t
found, where such will no longer thrive. Northern Germ
therefore, and the Danish and Swedish coasts, were certa
not colder than at present, and were, perhaps, even warm

Now this deep and strong love for nature, which the pr
tive Germans inhaled with the native air of their mount
and their woods, is the peculiar characteristic of the Germ
character, and has ever adhered to the Germanic natio
all ages and in all countries. Wherever in the progre
time they fixed their dwelling-places, whether in the sout
fields of Spain and Italy, or in northern England, everyw
they dwelt and built after the same fashion, choosing
abodes not so much for the sake of convenience or utilit
from that love for free nature and her enchanting be
which had become to them an absolute want. Upon the
on the steep declivities of rocks, near the headlong mount
torrent, in the solitary wooded valley, they most loved t
their dwelling. This love of nature is visible in the w
way of life, in the divine worship, in the faith, aye, eve
the very constitution of the primitive Germans. In all
ductions of later and more civilized times, it will revea
dominant influence, and give them their peculiar Ger
stamp. It is still living in our language and poetry;
should this love of nature ever become wholly extinct an
the Germans, it would only be a proof that the Germanic
racter had utterly changed, or that it had even ceased to

ssing from the geographical nature of the country, we to the most important point of all for our object,—the tution of the primitive Germans. Before I attempt to y it, I must refute a very common, but incorrect n. The primitive Germans are but too often described re savages. Some much-read authors are particularly of comparing them with the American Indians; with savages, who on the first discovery of the new world, not even acquainted with the use of iron; of whom tribes were, and even still are, cannibals, and many stand on the lowest scale of human nature, but just above the brute. Such false comparisons and exated representations arise from historians starting with nceived opinions, and still oftener from want of distinct In this case in particular, distinct ideas have been ng as to the savage and civilized states. The essential that concern us here are the following. It is chiefly ree great instruments and inventions that a people still in the simplest social condition is rendered capable of ation, and is raised to a higher grade: iron, the indisple instrument of husbandry, and the first beginning of ; money, the invisible bond between all civilized nations, er remote; and alphabetical writing, which places exgenerations in communion with the past and the future. these three great discoveries, very closely connected as re with each other,—the artificial use of iron, the acedgment of the value and unanimity as to the universal cy of the precious metals, and the introduction of alpha- writing,—how these arose among men, and how men by them, that is an inquiry that would lead us very far. suffice that we find these three great instruments and of human life, a little sooner or later, somewhat more perfectly developed, but yet universally disseminated, all nations of Asiatic origin. The American savages, contrary, upon the discovery of the new world, were destitute of them. It is self-evident, that with these primary instruments were conferred the rudiments and erm for all further progress in civilization, which then, perhaps, but yet almost naturally and necessarily, follow. Whether a people, acquainted with and pos- iron, money, and the art of writing, and yet living, as

did the primitive Germans, in a state of manners, and
institutions very simple and natural, can be appropri
termed savages, is not worth disputing, as, after all, n
are arbitrary. This, however, is certain, that nations,
possess iron, money, and the art of writing, are sepa
by an immeasurable gulf from those unacquainted
these things, and that we might almost say they form
totally different species of men, so infinitely great and s
pervading is the influence of these first of all discov
Hence the comparison of the primitive Germans with
American savages is peculiarly unfitting. Like the other n
ern nations, the Germans were acquainted with those
ments of all higher civilized and social life. They poss
the lance, the sword, and the plough; the riches of their n
mountains, it is true, were as yet unknown, and hence
was rare and costly. Not every warrior had his coat of
and helmet; the shield was usually of interwoven osiers
while copper and stone, in some weapons, such as battle-
were substituted for iron. In their description of the Ge
order of battle, the Romans tell us, that while the front
indeed were sufficiently provided with effective lances
rear ranks were armed only with wooden javelins harde
the fire. Iron weapons, moreover, were one of the o
most eagerly sought for by the Germans in their comm
dealings with the Romans; not, because they themselv
not understand the forging of arms from metals, but by r
of the rarity of iron. The thing itself, and not its grea
less extension, concerns us here. Even with the swor
plough alone a totally new form and system of life are
duced; further refinement and perfection in the art of
as civilization may be called, spring up of themselves in
In this respect, perhaps, the various northern and Ger
tribes were not equally advanced. In the history o
Cimbri and Teutones, the Romans speak of a host of
thousand horsemen fully equipped, and armed with coat of
helmet, and shield. They may possibly, from vanity,
exaggerated the number, but there is scarcely an imag
reason for supposing them to have invented an armam
the kind for that army contrary to the truth. As thes
tions belonged to the interior and northerly part of Ger
nearer to the coast of the Baltic, it is possible, that

the intercourse of the inhabitants with Sweden, which
ded in iron, this metal was not so rare, as in the western
frontier of Germany, which the Romans, in the de-
ons they give us, have almost exclusively in view.
m misunderstanding a passage in Tacitus, some have
that the Germans were acquainted with the art of
g. It has, however, been incontrovertibly demon-
d, that the Scandinavian nations possessed a peculiar
et, in the Runic character, and it is equally certain,
everal other Germanic races also originally used it.
ay hence infer that the case was the same with the
der; that writing was not so much in use as among the
ns or as in modern times, needs no comment, and if
one or two frontier-tribes, whose organization was
military, little or no traces of the art can be discerned,
that circumstance also no inference as to the whole
can be drawn. In the same manner we may readily
that not only among the Germanic, but among all
rn nations, money was rare; that most of them did not
r themselves, but were content to use foreign coin.
to assume that they were altogether unacquainted with
lue of money, would be repugnant to the whole history
ient commerce, which even in very early times spread
he Black Sea, along the rivers that flow into it, far into
ermost north. If the Germans, especially in their deal-
ith Roman traders, often preferred bartering wares to
money, they were actuated by the same motive
preferring the older coins, namely, the fear of being
d in the value of the newer ones, which were often
, and with which, at all events, they were less familiar.
ust in general be careful to remember that the ancient
s, in their descriptions of the Germans, were only too
f contrasting the simplicity of this life of nature with
rupt manners of degenerate Rome. Thus, when they
of the repugnance of the primitive Germans to enclosed
g-places and towns, we must not take this literally, as
owns at all existed among them, but merely thereby
tand their greater rarity. For the most part, indeed,
use was erected singly; even their congregation in villages
t then take place as in modern times. The Romans
lves, notwithstanding, speak of German forts, that

were strong enough to necessitate a siege; such as th
which Arminius besieged his father-in-law Segest, with v
he was at war. They refer to many places, which, from
whole context, are clearly seen to be towns; one of the an
geographers even gives a long list of Germanic towns.
not always possible now to determine the precise site of
towns, nor to establish in detail the credibility of all
accounts; yet on the whole, the matter is the more rem
able, as these accounts are known to have been derived
the reports of traders who carried on commerce with
interior northern parts of Germany. This is a confi
tion of what many other proofs render probable, that
interior of Germany, unknown as it was to the Romans,
have been infinitely more civilized than the frontier t
whose organization was altogether military. With
almost exclusively were the Romans acquainted, and
them they drew their picture of the whole nation.

Hence in the contrasts between Germanic simplicity
Roman corruption, which the ancient writers are so fo
we cannot take every word literally; we must make allow
for rhetorical antitheses and expressions. With modern
the other hand, filled with a preconceived idea of Ger
barbarism, it is not uncommon to portray things in a m
absolutely repugnant to the most distinct accounts o
ancients. Thus painters and sculptors, when they take
subjects from the early history of Germany, are in the
of presenting us with half-naked figures enveloped i
undressed skins of animals. This is not accordant wit
descriptions of the ancients.

The primitive Germans were clad in furs and linen; i
not till later, that they became acquainted with cloth
learned to manufacture it; cotton fabrics were not at that
generally used even by southern nations, and silk was stil
known. The manufacture of linen was already so w
spread and perfected in primitive Germany, that it fo
a staple article of its trade. The white garment o
women, which left the neck and in great part the
uncovered, was ornamented with a purple stripe. Besi
close fitting under-garment covering the whole body, the
were attired, not in undressed skins of animals, but i
dresses. This we learn from the circumstance, related b

ins, that among the rich this dress was ornamented with
strips made from the expensive skins of rare animals
in the extreme north. Painters and sculptors, there-
ould not distort the simplicity of this costume, primi-
it may be, into a caricature of repulsive rudeness, nor
nt German princes and heroes, if they must do so at all,
Kamschatcans are portrayed to us in books of travels.
barbarous custom, habitual among almost all savage
, of burning or cutting in upon the face or body all
f strange and terrific figures, and the finding a certain
, grace, and dignity in such disfigurement, were ever
vn to the Germans. Their simple ornament consisted,
lly among the women, in giving a fair colour to the
artificial means, if they had it not from Nature. With
n, their arms were the object most prized; their shields
lazoned with various symbols, the houses also were
l with the liveliest colours. The helmet, too, when-
y could afford one, was decorated with ornaments, and
s horn silver-mounted, and converted into a drinking-
as, as a trophy of the chase, prized higher than if it had
ade entirely of silver.
ancient historians thought it worth while to preserve
slight traits of a remarkable people, and I have here
oured to collect them into one picture.

LECTURES II. & III.

ON THE GERMANS.

ETHER with the perfection of the useful arts, there is
ing decisive as to the higher or lower degree of culture
ent and simple nations; namely, their poetry. What
poetry—what does it not contain for such races living
er communion with nature? It contains their history,
aith, the sum of their limited knowledge, their whole view
world and the next. It is the joy and soul of their life,
iversal mind of a whole generation. Hence it is to be
ed as a great advance in historical science, that we
egun in recent times thoroughly to combine the exami-

nation of poetical monuments, those of the older periods
cially, close to the heroic age, with historical investiga
and to consider poetry as one of the sources, whence a k
ledge of times and nations is derived. What importa
poetry may lend men in ascertaining the degree of civili
that existed among a people, is best illustrated by a
ample that very readily suggests itself. We are to this
day delighted with the lovely simplicity and lofty beau
the Homeric poems. Now should we ask ourselves h
the time these poems were composed, the Greeks stood in
parison with the other nations with whom they chiefly ca
contact, we shall at once perceive that the Phœnician
instance, far excelled them, in navigation, in commerce, i
useful arts, and generally in the industry of towns; in all
respects the Greeks were far below the Phœnicians. But s
we on that account place the Greeks of that epoch, who
capable of producing such noble poems, as well as of enj
them, absolutely below the Phœnicians? Undoubtedly
What is culture, emphatically, but mind, the mobility, act
and development of mind and of all the mental energies?
useful arts are something admirable, something grand,
directed by mind and applied to noble objects; but
unspiritual employment of all these material arts, it ma
be doubted whether they serve more to benefit or injur
human race. Mind is the thing of first importance, an
is best represented to us by the poetry of a people.

In these descriptions, the Romans are never tired of
tiating on the poetry of the Germans, on their songs, a
the influence of these upon life. Even in battle the wa
was chanted; during the whole strife the memory of f
heroes was celebrated, and everything added that
inflame to fresh deeds of heroism. The songs, indeed,
passed away, in which Arminius, misunderstood and rew
with ingratitude in life, was at least glorified after
We may, however, be enabled to form a notion of the
of these Germanic songs, and of their influence upon li
considering what it was, besides the commemoration of
and their deeds, that constituted the subject-matter of
representations, namely, of the gods and the mode of
shipping them. But these are the very things which
characterize the mind and condition of a nation.

he religion of the Germans the Romans tells us very
yet that little is remarkable. It was, like the faith
rship of all primitive people, an adoration of Nature,
nd phenomena and marvellous powers. But the reli-
ystem of the Germans was simpler, more connected
n immediate, exalted love of nature, than among the
n nations, less adorned with fables than among the
, not so overladen with ceremonies as among the
s, altogether less sensual than among either.
the ancient Persians, the Germans worshipped above
gs, the Sun and Fire, but yet, as the supreme divinity,
, whom they called the Father of All. The Romans
ed him to their Mercury, chiefly on account of his
to the same planet; though, in other respects, the
nd character of the two divinities were totally different.
erely in their especial worship of fire, as well as water,
nerally of the primary powers of nature, but also in
ther details and peculiarities, did the worship of the
ve Germans resemble that of the Persians more than
the Greeks and Romans. Both among the Germans
Persians sacred white horses were kept in consecrated
for the service of the gods, and for solemn processions.
German tribes also sacrificed horses; a custom which
all known nations of antiquity was especially men-
of the Persians alone as a marked peculiarity of their
. Like the Persians, the Germans despised the mode
ary among other nations, of worshipping the gods in
d buildings, and of representing them in a great variety
es. This cannot be attributed to mere ignorance or
ity. In times when fortresses existed among them,
till had no regular temples. The rudest nations, in
ave been able to make uncouth images of their
ies; and if the Germans possessed nothing of the kind,
proof, not of their incapacity, but of their repugnance
, or of a different conception of the subject.
relationship between the Persian and German lan-
has been already often noticed by the learned; and a
coincidence is also manifested in their respective con-
ns. We perceive among the Persians the institution
arrière-ban, or levy in mass of all freemen for military
, and a kind of feudalism as well as a very clearly

marked spirit of chivalry. Hence agreement betwe
nations in many parts of their worship ought not
prise us.

Besides its greater simplicity, the religion of the pri
Germans was pre-eminently distinguished from that
Greeks and Romans by a firmer faith in the immorta
the soul. In the popular creed of the Greeks, the i
another world was more a shadow of mournful recol
and feeble hope than an expectation of fixed cer
Hence their dread of death, their anxious avoidance
direct reference to it in words. Among the Germa
absolute conviction of another life removed all fea
many cases, even, they were by this firm faith promp
self-murder, not like the later Romans, from a false phil
or from a disgust of life, but in cases in which the
moved thereto by love of country or of freedom. Thu
man women, who, after the German custom, had a
panied the army, would often free themselves by thei
hand, on the unfortunate issue of a battle, when c
appeared certain and no prospect of escape was visible.
ambassadors of a German tribe, who, by Roman perfid
been seized and treated as prisoners and hostages, des
themselves in order to baffle the object of the Roma
that their countrymen might not be forced, out of con
tion for them, into a disadvantageous peace. The Germ
is true, like all heathen nations, conceived the next
under very sensual, and especially, in accordance wi
national mode of thinking, under very warlike colours.
chief happiness of the blessed in the Walhalla consis
martial sports. They revelled by day in the chase,
contests of every kind, but when day declined, al
wounds were healed by magic power, the heroes
reconciled, and sat down together to the same festal ba
The filling up of such a picture over belongs to the im
tion, but the truly important matter is the firm con
of a real futurity, of another existence, more joyous
pure, more lasting, nearer to God, than this short, frail,
existence.

Of the Supreme Being, of a righteous and mercif
ruling over all destinies and the powers of nature, the h
nations of antiquity had indeed some conception,

ment of the world and the conscience of man bear
of him aloud. But this was but an isolated vestige
ruth, lost in a tissue of errors and fables. It may be
ined that in this respect the Germans were superior to
nations, who, instead of the worship of God and a
, had but a worship of nature and a mythology.
ppears deducible from the following circumstances in
lar. By the Germanic law, capital punishment was
d in but one case; in that of treachery to people and
to the commonwealth. But it was not the duke or
nce, it was not the assembly of nobles and people who
nd proclaimed the punishment. They deliberated, per-
nd decided on the guilt of the party, but the judg-
self was pronounced and awarded in the name of the
by a priest of the nation, elected by the assembled
nd people. Not prince or king, but Woden himself,
ler of all, had, so to say, exclusive capital jurisdiction,
power of life and death. Thus they conceived this
preme national god as the avenger of disloyalty and
. An idea certainly worthier, and more moral than
that can be deduced from the popular belief of the
and Romans as to their Jupiter, even when they are
aking of him in mere fables, but with an approxi-
to the higher notion of a father of all things. This
manic conception of a father of all, as the highest
e judge and avenger of wrong, had great influence
ne so-called ordeals or judgments of God. In cases
baffled human sagacity, the matter was referred to
ombat, or to the trial by fire and water, in the fixed
d belief that God himself would decide on the result for
nd truth. This was an error and custom, that despite
position of Christianity, was maintained for many
es, and of which, at least upon the stage, we are even
present day some times reminded, although not always
ppily.

e find the faith in nature and the worship of the
ve Germans very different from that of the Greeks
mans, we must also yet more carefully guard against
ding their views and customs with the wholly different
ions of the Celts and Gauls.

must always remember, that the lofty and noble feel-

ings, with which the worship of Nature and her great obj
and mysteries filled the breast of primitive nations, were
mingled with strange, and, to a certain extent, with frigh
errors. Even in the sensual fascinating worship of
Greeks, the moral influence of many of their conceptions
usages upon real life was very different from the beaut
poetic impression they make upon us, for on us the e
they produce is a mere play of the imagination.
among the Greeks in the earliest times—and we are
reminded of this practice by the beautiful poem of the I
genia—and as among the Romans for a much longer peri
so also among the Germans, instances of human sacrifices
to be found, although seldom and only in rare cases.
certain festivals of the goddess Hertha, some youths
maidens of surpassing beauty (for it was precisely the m
beautiful who were to be offered up as victims, and more
voluntary victims to the goddess) were borne in solemn
cession on the car of the goddess into the sacred grove
the awful lake, and were then seen no more. Shocking festi
like these, however, were rare, as they were also among
more ancient Greeks. Very different was the case with
Gauls, among whom such victims fell by thousands,
whose whole worship seemed a perpetual shedding of bl
Whether from the influence of the Phœnician colonies
that people like the Carthaginians were particularly addi
to human sacrifices), or whether from the sway of the po
ful and ambitious sacerdotal order of the Druids; or whe
even from the effect of the fiery and passionate characte
the nation, or from whatever cause it may have arisen, the
perstition of the primitive Gauls was so bloody, that in
whole course of history scarcely one single example of e
cruelty can be found, except in Mexico prior to its conques
the Spaniards. The Romans, who were in general so
rant to all religions, found it difficult even by repeated
stringent edicts to suppress the abuse and to extinguish
dangerous order of the Druids.

An order of Druids never existed among the Germans,
was there an hereditary caste of priests. The assump
that Druids existed among the Germans is one of the nu
rous misunderstandings and errors, which the confoundin
Celtic with German manners and institutions has given ris

e worship of the Germans was so little overladen with
onies, such a priesthood was not required. Their mytho-
conceptions and fables of the gods, as well as the
ry of their heroes, were perpetuated in their songs. But
etic art was freely exercised among them; they had not
any more than Druids; bards, that is, a distinct and ex-
e corporation of poets entirely dependent on the priest-
Among the Greeks the minstrels were independent of
riests; these bards wandered about, reciting their old
wherever they were wished for or invited. Hence the
id beautiful development which poetry took among the
s. The case was different among the Romans. The
hey had of poetry, before they learned to imitate the
s, was solely devoted to purposes of Divine worship.
proved even by the original Latin words for poet and
—*vates* means both poet and prophet; *carmen*, a poem
as any formula, whether for adjuration or any other
purpose. Among the Celtic nations this sacerdotal
ce existed to a still greater extent, as the bards cannot
sidered otherwise than as totally dependent on the
. Against this view the poems of Ossian may per-
e referred to, in which no such sacerdotal sway, and
hardly any mythology at all, is perceptible. To this
y answer that, undecided as is the dispute, how much
little of these poems be genuine, yet whatever portion
is genuine, dates from times when the whole political
cerdotal constitution of the Celts had perished, when
anity was almost universally received, and only here
ere upon some highlands a mournful echo of the past
ll audible. Not thus limited and dependent on Divine
p and sacred uses alone, after the manner of the Celts
imitive Romans, was the poetic art exercised among
rmans; nor yet after the Grecian manner. Of all the
of Grecian fable, it is Achilles alone who touches the
nd, sitting by the sea-shore, controls his inward wrath
own strains. What Grecian poesy celebrates in this
favourite was the universal practice of the Germans;
roes were themselves the poets. Thus even in Chris-
mes King Alfred also exercised the art, and, in the
se of a minstrel, went to the Danish camp to re-
tre. Thus the Danish hero, Regner Lodbrog, dying

in captivity, celebrated his own death in verses; thus C
was at once king and poet; thus, to omit many exam
from northern and German history and tradition, Ger
emperors and princes, even in the middle age, did not dis
composing poems and ranking themselves among minstrels.
was it also in the earliest times, as is from many reasons cert
Perhaps on that very account was German poetry
developed as an art than the Grecian, which was an art f
the very beginning; but the influence on life of the str
natural feelings expressed in German poetry became the
intenser and more direct.

German mythology has died away, scarcely a shadow o
memory still remains, except perhaps in the English
German names for the days of the week; for these the na
of some of the German gods, particularly of Woden, of T
and Thyn, and of the German goddess of love, Freya, h
been preserved. It would be a mistake, however, to th
that all action and influence of the old German religion
ceased upon the introduction of Christianity. After
mythology had ceased to exist as an actual faith and wors
it lived on still for centuries in the poetry of the middle a
yes, even in our times, all that we term romantic in ficti
conceptions, and feelings, all that is wholly peculiar to
moderns and has not been copied from the ancients, flo
originally and essentially from this source.

Hence the absurdity of the wish not obscurely intim
by some writers, and springing from a false and mista
patriotism, that the pure knowledge and worship of Go
that Christianity—had after all been never introduced
Germany; and at their lamenting as a kind of misfort
that the national religion, as they fancy, was thereby
pressed. This is wholly unfounded. All that was good
beautiful, all that was in any sense true, all that was noble
attractive in the German religious system, has been prese
in our romantic poetry, and as such still lives. Beautif
us considered as mere poetry, is indeed the religious sy
not only of the Germans but of all the nations of antiqu
but yet it betrays little knowledge, I will not say of p
sophy and history, but of the human heart itself, not to
ceive how much that system contains, when received a
earnest faith and exerting actual influence, that is at

ous, pernicious, and immoral, and moreover how much
ard torture and anxiety it inflicts upon the soul.
ge as we may of the social condition of the Germans
ng to our different notions of the savage and the
d state, their constitution deserves our fullest attention.
s the foundation of all modern history and European
tion. Simple, artless, altogether natural as this con-
n was, we shall nevertheless find it bear the stamp not
high moral strength, but even of strong understanding.
s point we may well trust the judgment of the Romans,
d so much experience in legislation and constitutions,
ad reflected so much on those subjects. They were
ated with savage, semi-savage, and civilized nations
in all the three ancient regions of the world to institute
nparison. They have hardly bestowed such attention
constitution of any people as on that of the Germans.
rprise and astonishment with which they speak of it, go
o the length of admiration. The essence of this consti-
consisted in the combination of the highest individual
n with the closest corporate union. Each freeman was
ner free and independent, was in a certain sense his
aster, took an active part in the direction of the com-
—in the government of the state. He had the right
aring armed at the general assembly, in which subjects
were deliberated and decided on, and wherein out of
ble families the count or judge of the province was
; for at that time this was not yet an hereditary distinc-
t a personal dignity. They were chosen for times of
out in those of war a military leader of the state, of the
people, or according to the old appellation, a duke, was
f. He was elected, as Tacitus reminds us, not for his
ut for his merit. Thus, besides the freemen, there was
obility. The nobles had precedence and pre-audience
rovincial and general assemblies, although the freemen
k part in them. Hence we already find here the first
f the two divisions and chambers for the assembled
of the state, and discover this lauded institution to be
ginally Germanic. Whether in the military service
tinction was allotted to the nobility we are not dis-
informed. The following circumstance, however,
it probable. The Romans notice as an essential pecu-

liarity of German tactics the custom of mingling and combin horsemen and foot-soldiers together; every horseman accompanied by a light-armed foot-soldier, who in battle always at hand, and assisted him in every way. Cæsa great observer, found in the then prevailing mode of arm and fighting this arrangement very advantageous, and int duced it into his own army. It was principally to it, as as to his German auxiliaries, that he believed himself indeb for victory at the battle of Pharsalia, when the sovereig of the world was fought for. Does not this old Germa custom remind us of that part in the tactics of the middle a in which the heavy-armed knights were accompanied by fo soldiers to serve and assist them? From the nature of case, it may perhaps be inferred that the warrior on ho back had precedence over his assistant on foot, so that serving on horseback may have been even at that time, a was afterwards, chiefly, if not exclusively, the distinction privilege of the nobles. More in such privileges, and in glory of their race, in the memory of distinguished and c brated ancestors, than in greater wealth, did their p eminence consist.

Princely families, evidently with hereditary rights, mentioned at a very early period among the Germans. supposition that an hereditary royalty, which at a later pe was universally introduced, existed even in early times, confirmed by the right of primogeniture being generally p dominant in the German law of succession. Yet in beginning this may not always have been exclusively the c among the kings and princes, but the right of electing out of several members of the royal or princely house n have prevailed. The power of the elected dukes also n often have set limits to the hereditary privileges of the prin The position of the freemen can best be understood by call to mind the institutions of the Swiss mountain cantons, rather, as their freedom is also compatible with an he ditary nobility and royalty, those of the Swedish Da carlians, and generally of those countries in which peasantry constitute an order of the state, have the right bearing arms, and of taking part in the deliberations of national diets. This holds good, however, only of the in pendent householders and landowners, who have some

f not many, day-labourers to aid them in the cultivating
ir lands. This was precisely the state of things among
imitive Germans. The relation of the inhabitants of a
district to a single lord as his vassals or serfs, we must
re introduce; this system was not developed till a much
eriod. We may safely assume also, that among the Ger-
the lot of this third and last class of men was infinitely
than that of the slaves among the Greeks and Romans.
arlike frontier nations on this side the Rhine supplied
elves with agricultural labourers chiefly by prisoners
.

is nobility and freedom were the foundation of the primi-
ermanic constitution,—an order of nobles and an order
men, under elected dukes or hereditary princes; these
ce the whole extent of the German state. But what a
y and what a freedom, compared with the despotic, op-
ve, avaricious nobility of Sparta or ancient Rome, and
the tumultuous freedom of the petty Grecian states!
ility based upon a precedency not harsh, and on universal
m, a freedom founded upon honour, virtue, and loyalty!
nation do we find the nobility, that first of all orders,
undation of every institution of estates, that first and
ssential and natural element of the true estate, charac-
l by such grand and striking qualities, and placed in
erfect relations with the other classes, as among the Ger-
For this reason is their primitive history so instructive.
he clergy were afterwards added as a second estate,
en how the third became developed; and how, finally,
dern times, various divisions and artificial relations
risen,—all this is unfolded in the course of history.
respect, it may be said, that German history, from the
to the most modern times, is a natural and most in-
ve theory of the true state; that is, of the constitution
three estates. Instead of an imaginary state of nature,
d in the mixed constitution of the Germans, a polity
based upon nature; for altogether simple and natural
heir institutions of state and legislation. Every free-
ad the right of self-protection against others, nay, if a
l terminated in the death of one of the parties, ven-
was not only the right, but even the duty, of the
t male heir or armed relative. The state, and in its

name, the court, only interfered as umpire as it were, bet
the contending parties, to prevent further misfortune, a
restore concord by means of a compensatory fine, or
other expiation as law, custom, or tradition might d
From this primitive right of self-defence sprang the
petty feuds of the middle age, and hence the custom of
ling, unknown to the ancients, has been perpetuated ev
our own times in most European countries.

This freedom of individuals, it must be admitted, be
often injurious to the peace and unity of the nation. W
we readily acknowledge, however, the existence of
abuses, which the legislature has been unable in the cou
centuries to root out, or even to mitigate, yet must w
forget that the development of the high sentiments of ho
under the control of law, is one of the noblest and
essential characteristics of modern European civilization
is precisely the most difficult problem in statesmanshi
combine order and unity of strength in the state, wit
greatest possible amount of individual freedom.

We must not think, however, that by reason of
individual freedom, in respect to each other, all was
state of lawless anarchy. In one case the laws were
stringent; namely, in whatever related to the state
to the general confederacy. Here the principle "ea
all, and all for each," was carried out even to life
death. Any disloyalty or breach of duty to the state
punished with death, and so was cowardice. Whoeve
his shield was outlawed, put out of the pale of honou
law. National and state unity sprang out of a league ac
contracted, and not suppositious only. Each people
stituted a confederation, as we would now term it.
happened in those olden times, precisely as in Switzerla
modern times, where the people entered into a free a
ation for mutual defence and protection, and by that
league first became a nation. The Romans call
multitude of separate German tribes; by such are
meant only the inhabitants of a particular district, o
or more provinces. The names of the more remote
in the interior, learned only by hearsay, are not a littl
rupted, and, save national names, were given merely
misunderstanding and from ignorance of the language. W

e Romans, however, speak from personal observation, h more accurate knowledge, and especially when they e the more considerable Germanic nations in their own ourhood on the Rhenish frontier; then, it is easy to e that by these so-called nations leagues and con- ies are to be understood. Thus the Suabian confederacy ry powerful, and at first formidable to the Romans, less so the league of the Hessians. Both remain to y; for the most part too in the very same seats, as German races,—distinguishable by many character- om the others. The league of the Cherusci in northern ıy was rendered remarkable by their prince and duke us (Herrmann). Even the name of Germans is derived is system, for the Romans extended the name from e among whom they first heard it, to several others, and ely to all. In modern times historians have applied primitive leagues, and this Germanic custom of con- on, the word "heermannia," in reference to the appel- Germani." It would be more fit and accurate, how- render in our present language the word German by mann." Our "wehr" signifying defence and arms, is ly the same word as the English "war," from which nch and Italian "guerre" and "guerra" are only ished by a different mode of pronunciation; it is ably the root from which "German" is derived. e word Germans signifies the Wehr-men, that is to only warriors, but allies for mutual defence and pro- —a confederate community. The only thing wanting national leagues, was that all the peoples of Ger- ere not united, not one great confederacy. This ot be accomplished at once; for the Germans indeed, other European nations, were originally split into a mber of petty tribes and states. The necessities in- n their more extensive military enterprises, and more ly in their arduous struggle with the Romans, led to comprehensive national combination.

gradual union of the different German nations, the on at last of a grand German national unity, its ance for a thousand years, and its restoration more e after temporary disruptions;—this it is that con- our modern history.

Besides these national confederacies, the real essenc
foundation of the state, another species of association ex
among the Germans, which was freer, and more adapt
individuals. This was that singular brotherhood in
the enthusiastic fidelity in which the Romans describe
admiration and no little astonishment. Out of frienc
warriors would pledge themselves to live and die togetl
to share victory or death.

Men eager for fame would connect themselves in part
with powerful and princely heroes, as their free asso
and honourable attendants. Their fidelity was so great
scarcely an instance was known of a retinue of vassals
viving the death of their brother in arms or their chief.
this military friendship and association proceeded the
feudal constitution. The princely chief was bound to pr
the welfare of his followers; and hence the German conq
divided and distributed whole countries among their at
ants, on condition of the same fidelity and honourabl
vice. The love of warlike enterprise was thereby not a
excited; and hence by nothing more than this instit
was the spirit of chivalry itself developed; for in these
war was not the result of any decree of the assembled
and people. Even when the confederate state was at
if the chief had the courage and inclination to unde
some petty military enterprise, he could fearlessly begi
carry on the adventure. The feudal constitution in it
generacy was attended by many and great abuses; b
must not on that account overlook its first and noble c
any more than the great and glorious effects which the
of chivalry produced. Effects which are not yet altog
effaced, and which we cannot well wish ever wholly t
appear.

Together with this enthusiastic brotherhood in arms
thing seems to have excited the attention and astonish
of the Romans more than the relations of the femal
among the Germans; the high consideration which
women enjoyed, the honour and the liberty in which
lived. In this respect also we find among the prin
Germans the first origin of what so favourably disting
the manners and civilization of the moderns;—the spi
love, the freer and more polished intercourse, the h
refinement of the female sex.

influence upon these peculiar relations of the female
ong the Germans may be ascribed to climate. That
rman climate had no injurious effect upon health,
upon beauty of form, we may easily infer from the
ions of the Romans. Moreover, physical develop-
especially that of the women, was not so early in
older latitudes, as in warmer countries. The late
es of the Germans excited the particular attention of
ans. Tacitus says, they believed this custom to be
y to maintain the vigour of the race. Certain it is
s custom must have essentially contributed towards
consideration, towards the freer position of the female
Where bodily maturity, as in many southern countries
is so early, that marriages even border upon child-
-where women become mothers even at the tenderest
ere the choice for life can be no free choice; there,
the laws do allow polygamy, great, almost insuperable
s exist to the full development of the faculties of the
the female, and to the dignity which she is entitled
ture.

vife, it is true, received no dowry among the Ger-
on the contrary, the suitor, as among most nations of
y, had to present a gift to the father, ransom-money,
re. But we must not thence conclude that the father
s daughter as his property. There was a great
ntial distinction between the Asiatic and the German
In Asia it is the rule that the husband shall not
bride until the marriage be actually concluded;
many, on the contrary, it was the custom that the
d his beloved should be acquainted with one another,
t a long friendly intercourse should precede their
The alliance was contracted by free choice; and it
fly this free choice, and not the simplicity of manners
hat made the marriages of the Germans in their
s and happy concord appear to the Romans some-
totally different from anything they had been accus-
among themselves.

luctions were frequent among the Germans even in
nes, — if Arminius himself carried off his Thus-
ill we must not assume that violence was thereby
o her inclinations; the father alone was his enemy,

and so remained. In the state of things we have des
it may have often happened that the views of the fathe
opposed to the lovers and their choice, and that he
not ratify the contract which free inclination had conc
The wedding-gift the wife received is also worthy of r
a portion of it consisted of a war-horse, a shield, an
weapon. I do not conceive that this custom was univ
in all probability it prevailed chiefly among the noble
lies, and the present may not have been meant merel
symbol, but for actual use. For the women accompani
army in war, and took charge of the wounded; th
quently restored a losing fight; and if the result was
trous, often by a voluntary death gave the astonished R
an unparalleled example of lofty courage.

Thus among this people woman had her part in ever
and honourable enterprise, even in those which man re
as his highest distinction, the pride and the joy of his l

* * * * * *

To place a rapid sketch of history before our eye
necessary to touch anew upon facts that have bee
known. The only thing that in this embarrassment i
the historian with some degree of confidence is, th
glorious recollections of the past, the great subjects of
carry in themselves a perennial charm; that they rem
a certain sense ever new; and appear in a brighter l
us the more our own lives expand. As the past alone
us to gaze with a tranquil eye upon the present;
eventful present throws light in various ways up
darkness of the past. How many a page of history,
wise unintelligible, has, since the occurrences of recent
received a totally new light! It is a common idea, t
migration of the northern nations was a deluge, as it w
countless hosts of barbarians, and that, from the easter
tiers of China down to the western coasts of Spain, a ur
restless frenzy, an involuntary impulse, had suddenly
on all savage tribes and swept, driven, and precipitate
along, till the old civilization was totally destroyed, a
barbarism of the middle age introduced. In realit
viewed in their historical connection, however, these
present a very different aspect. At first, the Germa
Romans only really took part in them. The Huns, th

not Germanic and coming immediately from Asia, ercised any influence over this migration, were so nerous, and their influence was so insignificant, that elopment of what had been long ripe for develop- uld upon the whole have occurred, even without this xactly as it did.

ly any other great historical event was so slowly , and brought about—aye even for centuries, so y and step by step,—as the migration of the northern that is to say, the armed occupation of the provinces oman empire by the Germans, and their final con- the four principal regions of western Europe: Italy, Spain, and England. There were two great but sim- es for this event. It had become a necessity to the , in their northern seats amidst a growing population, ut colonies in order to rid themselves of their surplus

In whatever direction they sought out new abodes, in the west, the south, or the south-east, they came t with the wide-spread Roman empire. Hence their eat and oft-renewed wars with the Romans, which first appearance of the Teutones and Cimbri, some- re than a hundred years before the birth of Christ, conquest of Rome by Alaric, king of the Goths, ll five hundred years. Even those first northern , that struck so much terror into Rome, merely ew dwelling-places. Not destructive conquest, not ory expedition, but colonization, was their object, means, or, if this were unavailing, by recurrence to Land, in return for military service, according to the l Germanic custom, this it was which they demanded able conditions. A province was to be ceded to them, return, as faithful auxiliaries, they would place the levy of their force at disposal for military service. ne, it is true, as armed military settlers; but even then peaceably negotiating at first, as did all who, for five s, down to the time of Alaric, followed them from h to the frontiers of the Roman empire. At a later the Teutones and the Cimbri would easily have their object; and many an emperor would have d himself fortunate, by the cession of a province, to noble a reinforcement for his army. A few centuries

before the Cimbrian war, when southern and western E
was still broken up into a number of petty states, it
have been even easy for these nations to acquire new se
some quarter or another, by fair means or by force.
now, as they had to encounter all-powerful Rome i
fullest strength and bloom, their valour was forced to
after a few fruitless victories to superior military art;—
were destroyed.

According to the universal tradition, which in thi
history fully confirms, the same cause which had broug
Cimbri and Teutones into conflict with the Romans,—na
a population in the north outgrowing the productions
soil,—led the Swiss also and the Suabians to their p
seats. To what this increasing population in the north a
consequent necessity for emigration were attributable, w
not state with precision or in detail; but in the fact itself
is nothing improbable. If central and southern Ge
was at that time, by reason of its extensive forests,
more rugged than at present; if then agriculture was th
infinitely more restricted in those regions than it now is
was even made a matter subordinate to the chase;
has been already observed, this remark by no means a
to northern Germany, or to those parts more contigu
the coast. In these northernmost seats of the Germans
culture was widely extended; the population mig
numerous, and relatively too numerous. At the prese
we can observe, perhaps in Switzerland and Suabia
how with a healthy and prolific race, and with a
scanty production, the necessity of relieving themselv
part of their superfluous population is evinced in emigr
or other enterprises. In Sweden, Denmark, and no
Germany this custom does not seem now to be prev
but how much have not the tillage of the land, the fo
mode of living, and, with these even the race, been al
The second great cause of the migrations was the e
creasing feebleness and degeneracy of the constitu
the Roman empire, which at last depopulated the pro
and thus facilitated the irruptions and the settlements
armed colonists from the north, and favoured their ente
in every way.

I shall now resume the thread of the historical nar

ll touch upon those events, those characters only, onstitute an epoch; for in them it is that the spirit ime is revealed. It is not my desire or my object to once more the whole series and succession of events, ıer to suggest new reflections upon well-known facts. Romans came for the second time in contact with the ıs during Cæsar's sanguinary conquest of Gaul, which he way to his sovereignty and became its foundation. abian king, Ariovistus, one on whom the Romans, after anner, had long before conferred the very significant, important, and often dangerous title, of friend of the people, had acquired a settlement in that country by y with one of the Gallic nations. Cæsar waged war him, forced him to withdraw, and made incursions rmany, which he was the first to describe as an eye-. But not upon the better equipment of his army, n his superiority in the art of war, did he alone rely. some of the German tribes he carried on war in a at once so faithless and so cruel, that when he ed a thanksgiving in the senate for the victories he tained, his demand was rejected, and his enemies, particular, declared that for the honour of the Roman e should be delivered up to those tribes.

different was the manner in which the Romans the subjugated nations. The Greeks they treated (setting aside individual acts of violence), as well as eco-Asiatic nations, and deluded them in every way ıantoms of freedom and a mock continuation of their ional existence. Against the western and northern in Spain and France they waged a war of extermina- History can scarcely name a more sanguinary war than which Cæsar achieved the final conquest of Gaul. eplace the void thus caused, the colonies were chiefly l thitherward. Historians for the most part, accord- their respective opinions and judgments, speak only of , and of the concerns of rulers, of their virtues and aults. The still workings of plastic mind and toil are over in silence, till at last, after centuries perhaps, the result of this latent activity bursts suddenly upon our hed eyes. How instructive would it not be, if we had iled account of the process whereby France and Spain,

by means of colonies and under the influence of the ruling try, became in a short space of time so thoroughly roma as their very languages prove them to have been. The m in which Mexico and Peru, likewise, after a sanguinar almost exterminating war against the original inhabi were converted, by means of constant emigrations, i real New Spain, Spanish in language, customs, and is the only event in modern times comparable with this lution. The perpetual civil wars of the Romans,—the scriptions under the emperors,—may have contribut drive many from Italy, who would prefer the tranqu of the provinces, and the securer profits of agricultur of commerce in the smaller towns, to the perilous tumu the metropolis. These would naturally settle in the r romanized countries.

As regarded the Germans, the Romans wavered bet their two different modes of warfare. At first, they have entertained the hope and the intention of subjug the Germans, like the Gauls, perhaps, even of extermin them, or at least of rooting out their constitution, customs, and their language; in a word, all that made German. But soon, perhaps under Augustus, and certainly under Tiberius, it became recognised as a f mental maxim of Roman policy not to provoke the Ge to hostilities, but to keep up and foment discord among to organize a party in the country favourable to thems to gain over and corrupt individual chiefs, by conferri them honours and dignities, by invitations to the metro and by the seductiveness of its pleasures.

Arminius appears the greatest and most important cha in this whole Germanic period; perhaps because, than the master-hand of the great Roman, who could not him his admiration, we know him better and more fully any other hero of the time, but also because in him the i spirit and the highest tendencies of the age are the most c evinced. How arduous was that contest for freedom w the Germans were engaged against Rome! What obstac hero of his country had to encounter among his own pe What constancy and devotedness, in fine, he possessed, an have possessed, to enable him, not indeed to obtain decisiv cess by brilliant victories and conquests, but at least to e

k of freedom for the future, and to prepare happier
y sowing the seeds of great efforts and recollections in
ds of his people!

whole strength of the vast empire, which had been
nsolidated by Augustus, was principally directed by
ainst the Germans. In the south he succeeded in
hing the frontier on the Danube, and thereby brought
Germanic and semi-Germanic tribes under Roman
Less fortunate were his attempts in the north. The
, it is true, between the Rhine and the Elbe was under
dominion for a few years; but when Varus, contrary to
dictates of prudence, sought prematurely to introduce
laws and oppression, his celebrated defeat ensued.
n Arminius's side the perfect and deeply meditated
tion of the great enterprise, as well as in the decisive
its rapid and complete execution, are more to be
than the victory itself.

ıouse of Arminius had been favoured by Augustus, he
nself served in the Roman armies as chief of the
i. He was familiar with the military art of the
, their language and civilization, but he remained
bly devoted to his fatherland. No vulgar impulse,
clear conviction alone of what was salutary for
y and needful for her safety, inflamed his hatred
Rome. He proved himself a great general, especially
ar against Germanicus, a foe worthy of him. The latter
penetrated into the heart of Germany with a greatly
force, and boasted or even believed that he had
several victories; but Arminius ever reappeared ready
le, and the pretended victories of the Romans termi-
n a retreat, in which they were ceaselessly harassed,
n pursued, by the enemy. Their great historian con-
he magnitude of their loss, and the fact that if Ar-
was defeated in battles, he never was so in war.

is side Germany remained free; the struggle, however,
n most severe; a portion of the country was desolated.
us had perceived what was really wanting to obtain
against Roman conquest,—viz., a general union and
-operation of the different German nations. Hence
he war against Marbod, a king of southern Ger
who at peace with the Romans, had remained neutral

during the war for the freedom of his country. The gover
of Marbod, copied from the Roman model, was det
he was forced to flee, and eighteen years afterwards died i
riously at Ravenna, a dependant on Roman bounty. I
minius afterwards was accused of aiming at the universal
reignty, if he fell through the hatred of his own kindre
the envy of the other princes, we may well presume fro
whole tenour and spirit of his life, that he sought not for
self more than was his due, but rather that he only wis
bring about a fuller union and consolidation of the G
nation. He had learned, indeed, from experience wher
weakness lay, and on this very subject his great views
probably misunderstood.

Arminius was not one of those heroes, who, intoxicate
happiness and fame, follow only their own unbounde
pulses and the rapid stream of their fortune. He was
one of those who, recognising in some great object of
welfare their mission and their highest duty, and glor
striving against the current of corrupt and perilous
and against superior force, make a sacrifice of their whol
in ceaseless exertion and self-devotion. Both his ow
his wife's brother lived estranged from their fatherland
the Romans. The former, Flavius, whose German nam
not been preserved, even bore arms against him. Sieg
Thusnelda's brother, was raised to the dignity of the
priesthood in the colony of the Ubii. Wavering in his
ments between the lustre of Rome and the voice
fatherland, he cast off in shame the treacherous ensigns o
honours, when Arminius liberated Germany, yet subseq
attached himself to Segest, who was on the Roman side.
the father of his wife, was the implacable foe to the lib
of his country. Even his uncle, who had fought so lo
his side, ultimately deserted him, out of envy at the
dence, which the youthful hero necessarily acquired
glory of his military deeds, and as the elected chief
nation. He was forced to see his Thusnelda led away ca
and gracing the triumph of the arrogant Roman. A
bitterest of all, he received for his reward the decided uni
ingratitude of his own people! One of the German p
even sent an embassy to the emperor Tiberius to d
poison, at that time unknown in Germany, in order secr

m of the liberator of their country, as they were unable
t this object by open warfare. Even Tiberius replied
demand, to which a German prince had thus degraded
, in a manner worthy of Rome's ancient dignity
as not till after his death, that the deeds of Arminius,
r vast immeasurable consequences, were crowned with
oblest success. With reason did the German nations,
in death envy was extinguished, celebrate the fame of
o in wide-sung lays ; and not without cause have all our
national historians and poets ever pointed back to
us. As the preserver, the true founder and second
ch of the German nation, he is to be also regarded as
mmencement and founder of all modern history, of the
stitutions and civilization of Europe. Without him,
his deeds and constancy, all this would not have been,
may thus say that the brief, toilsome, heroic life of
us, filled with strife and sorrow, has produced greater
iences, a deeper and certainly more permanent influence
ie history of the world, than Alexander's brilliant con-
nd Cæsar's bloody victories.

earliest of our national poets has offered a beautiful
to our hero in a series of dramatic pictures. It is a
poem not only from its national sentiments and the
s and dignity which characterize it in common with all
Klopstock's works, but from its many great and touch-
ividual traits. It has one singular peculiarity however,
oem in celebration of the earliest of all German heroes, is
more in the spirit, and in the artificial, terse, sharp,
ious style of a Seneca or generally of a Roman, than
e artless joy and love that would bring back the Ger-
Arminius and the simplicity of his times before us.
r Arminius the great Batavian insurrection under Civilis
s the most important place in the Roman histories.
sue of this remarkable national war, the real soul of
was the enthusiastic prophetess Velleda, is not com-
known. Certain it is that the Batavian people,
h under Roman dominion, preserved the independence
lividuality of their manners and language : they re-
Germans. That this was likewise the case among
oes south of the Danube, in Rhætia, in Vindelicia,
m, and Pannonia, is in some districts at least certain,

in others probable. The Germans remained on the whole
conquered, inasmuch as learning much from the Romans, t
yet remained true and constant to their national manners
language, and, where they were able, to their old constituti
In individual battles they were often overcome by the supe
military skill of the Romans. Many emperors even pe
trated deep into the heart of Germany, and of these Tra
under whom the country between the Maine and the Dan
became Roman, maintained himself there the longest.
was perhaps the most dangerous moment for German freed
Caligula, Domitian, in order to give the spectacle of a G
manic triumph, had prisoners of other nations dressed in
German garb, caused them to let their hair grow, and e
to dye it red, because the vulgar Roman could not conc
the Germans to be otherwise than red-haired. Trajan
quired none of these childish arts, *he* desired to celebra
Germanic triumph in earnest. Important in relation to G
many was also Trajan's great conquest in the north-east.
reduced all Dacia to the condition of a province, and so
to secure it by a numerous colony. Of the intermixture of
Roman soldiers and settlers with the original inhabitants,
Wallachian nation, who call themselves Romans, are a
living memorial. It seems as if Trajan had foreseen, f
what point the Germans would make their most formid
attacks, from what point destruction would fall upon
Roman empire.

The most important and decisive of the subsequent G
manic wars was that carried on under Marcus Aure
against the so-called Marcomanni, along the whole sout
frontier of the Danube. In this war the Germans penetr
to Aquileia; and when peace was at last concluded,
Quadi, inhabitants of the present Austria, were able to re
fifty thousand prisoners to the Romans. The preponderan
the Germans was now decided, and the fall of the Ro
empire easy to be foreseen. Even Cæsar had achieved
tories by the aid of Germans; Augustus formed his b
guard out of them, and all succeeding emperors sought
and more to enlist Germans in their armies.

Under every government from the time of Marcus Aure
their influence in the army and the state becomes even
perceptible, as well as at every conclusion of a new peace

ence of the Romans. We more frequently find Ger-
mes among the pretenders to the empire, who started
individual provinces, or among the highest func-
s appointed by the emperors. Even before the time of
ntine, numerous German colonies on many different
were admitted into the Roman empire; the need of
reat change was felt more and more; and the German
(for that is the appellation really applicable to the
f things) grew palpably stronger; till at last whole
es, whole classes of the empire, the highest state-func-
s, and often the emperors themselves, called upon,
ged, the Germans now to consummate what had been
prepared.

fall of Rome was not occasioned by her many bad
rs; it was of itself inevitable. The Roman empire had
very origin neither a constitution, nor any firm founda-
the minds of men. I say no constitution; although in
iblican Rome the powers of the state were divided among
ns, people, and knights, consuls, senate, and tribunes,
a manner, that if re-established by a powerful arm,
ified anew, a real and fitting constitution might have
rganized for the city, and undoubtedly also for the
confines of a single country, such as Italy. But how
ossible to adapt the obsolete forms of a city, that had
to be mistress of the world, to a vast empire, consist-
many different nations and countries? The privileges
man citizen were indeed soon extended to individuals
the subject nations; but if here the son of a German
was raised to the dignity of a Roman knight, there a
or Egyptian admitted to the privileges of Roman
hip; surely this could establish no true unity among
terogeneous parts. It was but a feeble copy of the
l form, when many of the chief provincial cities were
ed on the model of Rome, and were adorned with a
theatre, and naumachia. Indeed, the ancient senate
netropolis itself was nothing more than a powerless
of extinct though great recollections. Fruitless also
e extension of the right of Roman citizenship to all
nd ultimately to the whole empire; for neither was a
order of citizens, nor a common nobility thereby
d, which as a visible and active portion of the national

powers, might have been a pillar and bond to the throne, a living instrument in the hands of the emperor. All mained abandoned to the uncontrolled will of one, ident with the will of the people; or even in worse cases, sul to the caprices of an army, by whom the despot was in governed, and which at last remained the sole real powe the state. Thus Rome, equally anarchical when a mona as when a republic, could not attain to a constitution.

The want of a firm foundation for the state was ch evinced in the moral corruption and in the religion of nation, or rather in the absence of the latter. Even in later times of the republic, with the spread of luxury the sudden change of manners, there was manifested usually happens in such cases, a general spirit of unbelie religious indifference, and of contempt for ancient cust To this evil the introduction of the Greek philosophy much contributed. It was chiefly the system of Epicu however, avowing indeed a refined sensuality and poli selfishness, but at bottom undermining all belief in God in morality,—that at first met with general approbation countless adherents. The emperor Augustus, it is true, the evil and its source; all his state-policy and energy directed to the restoring of the ancient laws and customs, to the maintenance of the popular creed. This last effort, h ever, was too late; the cause of the impossibility of its su lay in the very nature of this creed. Any creed, b upon the recognition of one God, however weakened it be by the corruption of morals and education, disunion even universal indifference, may yet be restored, as soon powerful hand is found, whose mission it is; for a fixed p is contained in it to which one can always return,—a stantial and secure foundation remains after everything t sitory is removed. The idolatry of the Greeks and Ro was in itself unconnected, without unity or fixed basis manifestly fabulous, and too much the work of mere imag tion to render its revival possible, when once the feelin this weakness had become general. Augustus sough effect the closest and strictest union of divine worship the state; but when a Nero was clothed with the hig priestly dignity, when a Divus Tiberius, or a Divus Cali received divine honours after death; surely it was not

restore to the gods their ancient dignity, or to men cient virtue and lost faith. Could any man have re- he old Roman energy and severe greatness, it had rajan; but as he failed, we must conclude that the was altogether too late. His deep-thinking successor, n, seems to have attributed the evil chiefly to the f spiritual unity, to the difference in the modes of g and intellectual culture of the various nations com- the Roman empire. From this period the Grecian gan to resume its natural supremacy in literature and

Hadrian's leading idea may have been to fuse the learning and taste of all the most civilized na- the empire, not even excluding the Egyptian, and to reanimate and invigorate anew the decaying the Roman world. But this too could only be a attempt. The Antonines had recourse to other means ty; the Stoic philosophy was now to uphold the faith, incurable as was its decay, or to replace it; it oured in every manner; its propagation and inculca- ame an affair of state. And doubtless it gave many en to the state and to mankind; but, not to reckon efects, a science so difficult to be understood, could e suitable to all men, could never become a popular

defect was supplied by Christianity. In its sublime hy and system of morals, many men, familiar with ole intellectual culture of the Greeks and Romans, contentment, which neither Plato nor the Stoa had them; but this contentment was no exclusive privi- a few philosophers, inaccessible to the great bulk of l. Christianity was philosophy, but yet was at the me accessible to all, and had equal effect upon all as it did not act upon one, but upon all the faculties oul. Hence, in despite of the most strenuous oppo- Christianity displaced more and more the old fantastic sm, which gradually retreated and disappeared before e Roman State, however, Christianity was unable to en when it had become predominant and universal. surprise us, that the doctrines which undeniably gave individuals strength for the greatest sacrifices, or for more arduous fulfilment of the most rigid laws, should

have effected nothing for the state. The reason is, even under the Christian emperors, religion, except some parts and provisions of private law, had no infl whatever on the political institutions and on the constit or rather non-constitution of the state. Everything i respect remained as it was. It would have required, over, great energy, and a profound mind, to create constitution adapted to the purer ideas of God and to m a constitution for which the most necessary conditions wanting. Even the expedient that most readily sugg itself,—namely, by the mediation and influence of the c to act upon the people, and to bring public opinion harmony with the views of the sovereign, was, at le the Western empire, totally neglected. That in the E empire a certain degree at least of union existed betwee state and the clergy was, together with its superior ge phical position in respect of the German nations, one principal causes, that its existence, then a feeble one, w infinitely longer protracted.

The Goths were the first who acquired settlements i Roman empire, on the north-east, precisely at the where Trajan's conquests and great colonies seemed de to protect the frontier. The immigration of the Ger nations into the Western empire occurred chiefly in directions, and from two different points. The first i gration was that of the Goths, and the kindred tribes, from the east, overran the southern countries of the em Italy, southern Gaul, Spain, and the African coasts. second was from the north-west of Germany, whence Franks and Saxons invaded and conquered northern and the southern parts of Britain. We shall first briefly upon the Gothic conquests and kingdoms, then the Frankish.

That the Goths, a great primitive Germanic people, from Sweden, in which some provinces still bear their n belongs by no means to the number of undoubted hi truths. It is certain that they penetrated from the n eastern seats of the Germans, from the coasts of the B Sea, into the southern seats, in which we afterwards find t The motive of their migration may have been like th all the earlier ones,—the necessities of a growing popul

se victorious settlers did not take a direction more to
, nor due south towards Gaul or Italy, but to the
st, is accounted for by the strong defences of the
frontier on the Rhine and the Danube. Here lay
r of the Roman army; and the unbroken chain of
y held formed ramparts quite impregnable, when the
as still powerful, and tenable with an effort, even in
s of its decay. In the south-eastern districts, on the
the Goths encountered, in the first instance, only
es, with some of whom they may have been of old con-
nd over whom they could easily gain an ascendancy.
y as two hundred years after Christ, they were
read over those south-eastern countries; and in the
ntury, under Ermanaric, the great Gothic kingdom
from the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Danube,
all Dacia, Sarmatia, and the Crimea, eastward, as
e north side of the Caucasus, and towards the extreme
far as the coasts of the Baltic.

f the Goths did not derive their origin, nor emi-
ectly from Sweden, yet their connection with this
north, even as far as Sweden itself, is by several
nces placed beyond doubt. Their sway and in-
xtended also deep into the interior of Germany; the
tern parts especially became now Gothic, even if
e not partially so before. In the Austria of the
ay, along the Danube from Vienna to Passau, was
iland, so called from the Rugians, a Gothic people.
s quarter Odoacer issued forth, at the exhortation of
ted Christian bishop, to put an end even in name to
an dominion, which in reality had long ceased to
l to substitute in its place a Gothic-German empire.
othic inhabitants of Austria have indisputably exer-
siderable influence on the Austrian race; and it is
e doubted that this race is, for the most part, of
escent.

story of the partition into two, of the great Gothic
on the Black Sea; of the defeat of Ermanaric,
vards of a hundred years of age, by the invading
f the subsequent alliance of this people with the
ns; of the conquest of Rome by Alaric, somewhat
n four hundred years after Christ; of the foundation,

by the kindred nations of the Goths, of a Burgundian dom in eastern Gaul, a Visigothic in western Ga Spain, and a Vandal one in Africa; of Attila, bred among the Goths, and achieving his victories for th part by Gothic-German tribes, and of the terror he into Italy and Gaul by his immense hordes; of the Theodoric, and his subsequent reign in Italy, glorio wise as that of the best of the Roman emperors,—the of all these events and personages is in itself very rema But as these kingdoms rapidly passed away, the eve have thus summed up are not, on the whole, so impor the character of the Gothic nation, and the relations conquests and sway to the great interests of mankind, the progress or retrogression of civilization, a subj which we shall now proceed to offer a few necessary re

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LECTURES IV. & V.

ON THE GOTHS AND THE MIGRATION OF NATIONS CHARLEMAGNE.

That, from the invasions of the Gothic nations, fro conquests of Alaric, and yet more from the expedit Attila, Rome, as well as many of the provinces, e most of the evils that attend on wars, cannot be d But when on this account the German conquerors are a of having destroyed the civilization of the ancient wor charge is not only exaggerated, but unfounded and In the descriptions of modern historians, whose imagi has been filled with ideas of universal desolation and d tion, the calamities attendant upon the first convuls those times appear very different from what they do wh consult ourselves the pages of contemporaries and ey nesses. Many of these, and especially several of the Christian writers, judge even favourably of the Germ their humane mode of carrying on war, and their l justice. From these opinions, and from other traits, w presume that the German party in the Roman empir particularly strong among the Christians. The mutu pugnance between Christian and heathen revived upon

nges with redoubled strength. The heathens thought
l trace the cause of Rome's downfal to the abandon-
he ancient gods; to the omission, prevalent for some
ffering them sacrifice. The Christians, on the other
erred to the humanity in the mode of carrying on
then practised, in comparison with the ancient
warfare, as a proof of the beneficial influence of
ity, for the Goths were at that time Christians.
on their first appearance the Goths showed them-
only a brave and victorious people, but even to a
degree more civilized than the earlier-known
nations on the Rhenic frontier were at that time.
ness of the Goths to receive the doctrines of Chris-
nd the rapid diffusion of it among them, may with
cited as a proof of their civilization, and capacity
ation. For among them Christianity was not intro-
force, as happened afterwards among other German
or by the sudden conversion of a sovereign, whose
then carried the whole nation along with him; but
was diffused among them in the same manner as it
e beginning, and always should be, viz. by missions
he influence of the doctrine. We know as little in
the circumstances under which Christianity became
sally spread in a short space of time among all the
ations, as of the establishment, step by step, of their
gdom on the Black Sea. Not those Gothic tribes
were settled in the Roman empire, but also those
bited the Austria of the present day, were Chris-
Even among the Thuringians, the remotest Gothic
wards the interior and north-west of Germany, was
ity, if not universally established, yet known and
while in the north the Saxons remained for several
longer ignorant of and disinclined to its doctrines.
d and universal spread of Christianity amongst all the
ations is also a proof of the internal communication
hem, and of an effective, universal, national connec-
he whole Gothic race.
nfluence of Christianity upon national relations will
illustrated by an example, which will at the same
e vividly before us the manners of the time. When
s of Rome were opened to the armies of Alaric, the

Gothic soldiers entering dispersed themselves throug
town, and some fell to plundering. One of them found
gold and silver vessels at the house of a Christian wo
she told him they belonged to the holy apostle Pete
had been given to her to keep for the church; he
now do with them what he thought proper. This the
reported to the king. Alaric immediately despatc
party to the house to secure the precious vessels, an
them solemnly conveyed back to the Basilica. The Ch
Romans, delighted at this proof of clemency, attended th
cession and chanted the ecclesiastical hymns customary o
festive occasions. The heathens likewise followed, in th
of obtaining greater safety. The Gothic warriors, astonis
this unexpected spectacle, joined also in the processio
thus a common faith diffused sentiments of peace, a
limits to the rage of war.

It is true that the opinion of many contemporaries i
unfavourable to particular German tribes; they pai
calamities of those wars in gloomier colours. It would
ever, be difficult to cite from the historical authorities
times of this great northern migration, which we are
consider an epoch of unceasing devastation, even one
act, which for real, genuine barbarism may be compare
the systematic cruelty and devastation of which the E
were often guilty. Their treatment of Tarentum, o
thage, of Corinth, where they destroyed the most be
ancient monuments and works of art (not to speak o
others of the most splendid cities of antiquity), occurr
at times which we regard as civilized, and comparati
the most flourishing and the best of ancient Rome! It
deniable that during the Gothic wars many monument
perished. The same things occurred long before dur
internal commotions under the emperors, and even
time of the republic, before conquests by the Germa
even thought of. From the ignorance of such subje
valent among the multitude in all times, even the mo
lized, it is an inevitable circumstance in every war t
monuments of antiquity and of art are not all preser
we might wish; not to speak of other unhappy cha
destruction. It is well known that the destruction o
ancient objects of art is to be ascribed to a very d

nd cause. When Christianity became the predomi-
eligion, when many heathen temples were suddenly
ed into Christian churches, it may have easily hap-
that this, like every great change, however beneficial,
l out by the hands of man, was attended by a false
This may have doomed to destruction many images of
hat we are now accustomed to regard as sacred objects
but which at that time, for the great bulk of heathens,
bjects of a very different kind of veneration, and for
ry reason were held in horror by the Christians. If,
er, we judge less from an exclusive predilection for
e arts, and look more to the whole range of human
, we cannot deny that the writings and scientific
dge of the Romans must have attracted the attention
Germans infinitely more than their statues. And this
undantly the case. In this respect, the charge that
ermans destroyed the ancient intellectual culture is
larly unjust and unfounded. The Roman and the
n intellect had been indeed long extinct; how then
he Germans destroy what was no longer in existence?
at that time were writers of any real distinction; where
oman literature or learning at all to be found, except
the great ecclesiastical writers of the fourth and fifth
es? The whole inheritance of the better literature
owledge of the Romans remained at that time almost
vely in the hands of the Christian clergy. The
ns, far from destroying or undervaluing this in-
ce of knowledge and literature, at once Christian and
, received it with the greatest reverence: preserved,
l, and, as far as the times permitted, even augmented
literary treasures. The cultivation of the soil, the
l well-being of the country, were so little destroyed
Germans, that, in the reign of Theodoric, agriculture,
the fostering care of the new government, began
to flourish again, and, in a short time, Italy required
ger any importation of corn.

diversity we have mentioned, in the opinion of con-
aries, as to the system of conquest adopted by the
nic nations, their conduct and character, is a con-
on of what we have before remarked, that there were
rties at that time in the Roman empire; one favourably

disposed, and the other hostile, to the Germans. Beside
evident predilection of several Christian writers, and of
influential Christians in general, it may be inferred from
circumstances, that there was less repugnance to the Ger
in the Western, than in the Greek empire. This is not
haps to be altogether ascribed to the influence of Stilico,
German, who at the commencement of the Gothic wa
chief functionary of the empire, guided the helm of the
under Honorius. This circumstance may be explaine
the old and very frequent commercial and colonial interc
existing between the Germans and the Western Rom
still more by the difference of character between the G
and the Romans. At this time, as in antiquity, the G
in learning, acuteness, subtlety, and artificial polish of
indisputably surpassed the Romans, as well as all other
pean nations. The vulgar portion among the Greeks
extremely conceited, and vain of these advantages, even
elder and better times, and infinitely more so in their
state of degeneracy. They despised and hated all who
not of their nation, the more strongly, the deeper they
themselves sunk in degeneracy, and reduced to a st
ignominious dependence and degradation. The Roma
the contrary, had been early taught to prize other virtu
qualities more influential in real life, far higher than a
feats of intellect, that displayed the utmost acuteness
most exquisite of languages, or reached the highest refin
in the recreative arts. Hence, from their homelier and s
view of life, and of the dignity of man, they may wel
formed a very different and far more favourable judgm
the Germans, as they then were, than did the Greeks.

We must not attribute an un-Roman sentiment, or
of patriotism, to those Christians who were more favo
disposed towards the Germans. There was no questio
rooting out of the Roman language and manners, s
perhaps Attila alone meditated, but merely of a chang
had been long recognised as necessary, in the institut
state and in the government. These in fact were growin
and more paralyzed, till they almost ceased to act, long
Germanic rule was substituted in their place.
Christians saw in this dominion, as was undoubtedly t
the only means of health and safety for the state, and

d at it, they were therein by no means to be blamed; this respect and in this sense it may be even admitted, th truth asserted, that Christianity facilitated the over- of the Roman empire.

diversity of opinion, however, among contemporaries e great northern migrations, ought to draw our especial on to the *marked* differences that existed between the ual events and epochs, as circumstances varied. Rome l little or nothing from the conquest of Alaric, the hic king; for, of all the Germanic nations, the Visi- seem altogether the most favourably disposed towards mans, whom they even subsequently supported against as well as at other times against other Germanic people. a contemporary writer tells us of the sentiments of the hic king Adolph deserves in this respect to be quoted. dolph said, "He had desired nothing so much as that the country of the Romans should become Gothic, and be named; that all that had constituted the Roman should come the Gothic empire, and he, Adolph, should be now he emperor Augustus had formerly been. As long nce, however, had convinced him that it was not pos- o accomplish this scheme with the Goths, from their e love of freedom, but that the empire must still be ined and its laws upheld, he had proposed to himself, uld place his honour therein, to restore and even aug- he glory of the Romans by the power of the Goths, he was unable to found a new state in room of the old yet wished posterity to regard him as the restorer of man empire!"

y different, however, from Alaric and Adolph was Gen- ing of the Vandals in Africa, who also took Rome. ght not to retain either Rome or Italy, or to settle his object was merely to enfeeble the enemy in that ; to amass plunder, and return home; a policy which gives a far more destructive character to war. He so personally of a tyrannical disposition, as well as his tila. The wars of the latter must have been the more ing, the more numerous his immense armies were; lly as they were composed of many different nations, of several were not German, like Attila himself, were still and incomparably ruder, or at least stranger to the

Romans than the Germans of that period. Wars are ever
cruel, more destructive, and in every way more lastingl
pressive in their consequences, in proportion as the armi
larger and more heterogeneous, and the belligerent na
stranger to each other. The Romans and the Germa
that time were anything but strangers to each other.
centuries, by a common military service, by trade, by col
and treaties, they had been acquainted and familiarized
each other. Even if we could not infer the fact from
particular circumstances and statements, we might well as
from the whole state of international relations, that
Germans understood Latin, and many Romans German
intermixture of the two languages had even then comm
of which we see the effects at this day, as in our tongue
as many Latin words have been adopted as there are
German words in the new languages of Latin origi
Italian, Spanish, and French. Even in manners and
there occurred a certain free interchange and mutual
tion by the one people of the mode of living of the othe
a time when the empire was not yet conquered, but
German influence was very preponderant, the Romans
to assume the German dress. A Roman author, on the
hand, complains that the Goths, of whom many at tha
were invested with the senatorial dignity, although th
deed wore the Roman toga when they sat in council,
resume their furs as soon as they quitted the assembly
ridiculed the toga, on account of their being unable to
the sword with it. Remarkable as to the relations be
the two people is the expression of the author we have
cited, and who lived at the period of the first convulsio
the very commencement of the great northern migr
"The Germans," says he, "have at once laid aside
swords, and put their hands to the plough; they now
and love the Romans as friends and allies, and there a
already many Romans who prefer living among the Ger
freedom, although in a state of rude simplicity, than as
in perpetual anxiety from the exactions of the old g
ment."

But if the relations between the Goths and the R
exhibited anything but a state of absolute and unmi
hostility, Attila, on the other hand, appears to hav

ted with an especial hatred against the Romans. At-
kingdom was of great extent; taking, as the centre, the
extensive country of the Danube, the ancient Pan-
and Dacia, together with the provinces bordering on
ack Sea, it stretched thence eastward to the Caspian
orthwards to the Baltic; from the Persian frontiers,
ore, to the point where the Baltic divides the German
from Sweden. How widely Attila's influence spread
he interior of Germany, how many German nations
ed, we may easily discover by glancing over the roll
immense army at the battle in the Catalanian fields.
ems indeed to have contemplated a universal union, if
all German, yet of all Gothic people. With especial
city did he war against those Germans who sided with
omans rather than with the savage conqueror himself,
ome he hated above all things. The great battle in
ndeed was fought almost exclusively between German
s! The Huns formed but the smaller part of Attila's
and the great deeds of Aetius and the Romans con-
chiefly in keeping alive the hostility between the parti-
id the opponents of Attila, and in looking on while the
ns mutually destroyed each other in this contest.
ila has been painted by some as a mere savage tyrant,
n in person a mis-shapen Calmuck; some moderns, on
ner hand, on account of his hatred for degenerate Rome,
nade him somewhat arbitrarily a lofty avenger of man-
burning with the love of justice. The description of his
, certainly a very unfavourable one, rests, however, only
authority of an author who is not free from suspicion of
ity against the Huns. Be that as it may, Attila was
dly-calculating, systematic conqueror, but rather swayed
rice, cruel or unexpectedly clement, as his mood might
is is evinced especially in his great invasions of Italy and
towards the close of his life. He remained, as did most
Huns, devoted to Paganism, while the Goths were
ians; in other respects he had enjoyed the benefit of a
e education. The influence of the Huns is in general
ther exaggerated. Their victory over the aged Er-
ic, on their first arrival from Asia, effected a change in
nasty, rather than in the state, which on the whole,
nder Attila, remained Gothic. Room enough there

may have still been for new settlers in those regions, and t
we see for the two first generations after the first irruptio
the Huns down to the time of Attila, Goths and Huns liv
there on a footing of equality. Of this the best proof is t
the Ostrogoths retained their own kings, the offspring
Ermanaric and his brother, of the old, great, much celebr
Gothic-heroic family of the Amali. Even in Attila's t
and under him, three brothers of this family reigned toge
as joint kings. Attila's power was the result of his pers
energy and greatness. We do not find that even under
Huns had any preference over Goths; we find more Ger
than non-German names among his heroes, the princes
grandees of his kingdom. After him the nation of the H
who never were very numerous, became of still less influe
some of his sons returned to Asia, others remained amon
Goths. This occurred without any great, general, or san
nary revolution; everything fell back quietly into its na
state, when the great man—great at least by his energy
self-reliance—who had made his nation of importance, w
more. In the one point of faith he remained a Hun, but
in all else his breeding and mode of life were rather those
Goth, is from one circumstance in particular apparent.
have the express testimony of an eyewitness that in At
court, not the Hunnish but the Gothic was spoken a
prevailing language. When, therefore, we are told the rem
able fact, that Attila sought utterly to eradicate the R
language, and, on the other hand, to render the Gothic
versal, we must not, as did some of the elder Hungarian wr
refer this to the Hunnish, or, according to their assumpt
the relations hip and unity of the two nations, the Hun
Hungarians, to the Hungarian language; but we must u
stand it quite literally of the Gothic, the German langua
that time. Attila, however, understood the language o
Romans, or rather that corrupt dialect of it spoken in
provinces, and which was called the Ausonian. Thus,
his tents resounded to Gothic minstrels, in which the fa
the conqueror himself, or the deeds of the heroes of old,
celebrated, buffoons would at other times amuse the
king and his court with all sorts of jests and drollery, c
on in the Italian or so-called Ausonian language. Fro
use of the language we may infer that a certain contem

felt, just as the senseless design of Attila to root it out
ther—a design entertained by no other German con-
and king—proves his unbounded hatred of everything
n, and the strange caprice that in this respect swayed

more tolerable, therefore, was the commencement and
st epoch of these northern migrations, if we confine the
o the period of what was really the last convulsions of
oman empire, occasioned by all these conquests of the
oths, under Alaric and Adolph, a nation that was the
friendly of all to the Romans. Incomparably fiercer
ore destructive were the conquests during the middle
, under Genseric the Vandal and Attila; but very
able, again, to civilization, was the last epoch of Ostro-
rule in Italy, in the time of the great Theodoric.
onquests and the government of the Goths were based
upon love of fame than on avarice. They had well
ved the idea of the Roman empire, perceptible even in
reme decay; and this empire, upon the establishment
nder the mild influence of Christianity, must have
ed in a totally new light, as a great universal league
as to embrace all Christian and civilized peoples under
preme direction of an imperial protectorate, but with
ll recognition of the freedom of the several nations.
pirit is perceptible among most of the Gothic rulers.
their mildness. For when a conqueror is penetrated
ome lofty idea, and seeks the general weal rather than
etty and special advantages; when he is not animated
arice, but by a genuine love of glory, his sway is mild
avourable to individual freedom, which he willingly
es, for he looks only to national greatness. A very
nt feeling prevailed subsequently among the Franks;
was precisely this more generous sentiment, this free
n of rule and of conquest, that was one of the main
of the Gothic sway being of short duration. It would
ly have lasted longer, had it been from the beginning
grasping and severe, like that of the Franks. With
sentiments of clemency and freedom did the great Theo-
who was brought up in the metropolis of Greece, reign
ly, over southern Germany, as well as Provence and
astern countries of the Danube. He preserved the

friendship of the Byzantine emperors, and even acqu
influence over all the kings and states of Germanic or
in western Europe. Like Charlemagne in after-times,
showed his solicitude for the preservation of the literary t
sures inherited from antiquity, for the intellectual wants
period troubled by war, by his very beneficial institute
education. Here also he evinced his true liberality, fo
was equally solicitous for the Roman and the Gothic lang
and literature. He was not disposed, like Attila, madl
eradicate the language of the ancient world, and with
much of its civilization; nor yet, like many other Ge
sovereigns of that time, to forget, for this foreign Ro
civilization, his national language and manners. With
son, then, in the traditions and poetry of Germany, has
refined but yet daring and valiant hero been celebrated
glorified, down even to later times: and it was even d
his reign that in Boethius and Cassiodorus the last s
appears of the old Roman literature, before the language
become essentially changed. This great king, althoug
flourished before the Frankish Charlemagne, may we
called a Roman-German emperor, as he was one in
sentiments, and even such in reality.

Had Theodoric's successors possessed qualities like
had the sovereignty of the Goths endured; had they
accomplished what Charlemagne only some centuries
began and founded, and the Saxon emperors consumma
the true restoration, namely, or rather renovation, o
Western empire as a league, a universal league, if possib
European nations—then would European civilization
revived several centuries earlier, and much would have ass
a milder and freer form than under the sway of the Fr
who were at first an incomparably ruder people.

Besides excessive freedom, there were several other
for the short duration of the dominion of the Goths.
principal was their subdivision into several great kingdon
nations, as well as their mutual wars. We are not told, in
that the different Gothic nations, before their settlement
Roman empire, were as disunited among themselves
western Germans were even in earlier times. As soon,
ever, as the Goths took possession of the Roman empire,
arose various disputes and complicated relations be

ries geographically separate, such as Pannonia, Italy, and Spain—disputes springing from the varying pre-ion or antipathy of the individual peoples and princes Romans; and thus it was but too easy for the crafty the Byzantine ministers to foment and perpetuate dis-among the Goths. It was an important fact, too, that Goths, though Christians, belonged to the Arian party. s the Catholics predominated everywhere in the Roman e, this division contributed not a little to withdraw a ary and indispensable support from the government of oths.

e last nation, and, if not Gothic, it was at least closely and perhaps even intermixed with the other Gothic s, which settled in this direction in the southern pro- of the Western empire, were the Lombards. In the first y they had been compelled, by the inroads of the Ro- to retire from their seats in the most north-western part rmany towards the east. It is certain that, subsequently mmediately before they conquered the north of Italy, ounded there the kingdom of Lombardy, they dwelt o the southward, on the Danube, exactly in the Austria present day. The earliest German inhabitants of this t were called the Quadians. These the Roman authors to the Suabian stock, to which they usually refer eastern German nations, with whom they were but acquainted. We afterwards find here in Rugiland, as called (the country between Vienna and Passau), the ns, then the Herulians, both undoubtedly Gothic s, and finally the Lombards. We must not suppose ne of these nations had wholly expelled or destroyed her. In these cases it is only a question of fresh ents and predominant influence. Thus when Austria bsequently in part devastated, in part subjugated, by non-German, and still heathen nations, it is not to eved that the German population of the country was exterminated; and hence the greater part of the population is to be derived from the Gothic race of ncient times.

en the Lombards penetrated from Austria into Italy, ere Arian Christians, like all the other Gothic nations; many other, even non-German and still heathen tribes,

were leagued with them, their conquest and sway were there rendered more destructive and oppressive. To this we m add the tediously protracted wars with the Greeks, of wh as of so many others in ancient and modern times, that be tiful land, which, in Petrarch's words, the Apennines div and the sea embraces, was the theatre.

To show how little on the whole the great northern mig tions were injurious to agriculture and the material prospe of the country, which, after all, form the foundation of all civ zation, one striking proof may be brought. We see each Ro province, as soon as it falls under the sway of the Germ revive with visible energy; on the other hand, those territo which the Greeks recovered from the Germans, such as A and Italy, at first altogether, and afterwards at least in g part, sank again into a state of indescribable impotence general misery. "Not the barbarians," says an able histo "but the Romans themselves have ruined Italy." "After wars of the Goths and the Greeks," he says, in another sage, "Italy endured at last the hardest fate of all, tha becoming a province to the Byzantine empire!" And ag "Rude as were the Lombards, yet the state of Grecian I which became visibly poorer and more depopulated, was disorganized than that of Lombard Italy."

The history of the Greek empire is altogether the apology for the Germanic nations, and for the whole nort migration. How can we believe that this was a misfor for mankind, that it was injurious to civilization, when look at the history of Italy, Spain, France, England, and Germany itself, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, we compare the peculiar national development, the fu of life, the stir, the activity, that in those countries quickly manifested even in commerce and industry, in and science, with the mournful monotony pervading history of the Byzantine empire. This empire we be powerless and miserable, degenerate, without true life, languishing for a thousand years until it finally peris and yet, in comparison with the western nations, advantage in respect to intellectual culture was wh and entirely on the side of the Byzantine Greeks. As ancient Greeks had possessed a decided superiority over Romans in every branch of learning and literature, there

red in the metropolis of the Byzantine empire a
e of knowledge inherited from the past incomparably
than anything that could be found in the west.
s knowledge was wholly confined to the metropolis;
vinces were in a state of indescribable barbarism, and
ined a lifeless treasure, of which they knew not how
e use. But how very different and what nobler fruits
incomparably smaller heritage of Roman literature,
the Germans found and received in Rome and the
es, bear among the western nations! This dead
of Grecian knowledge was never turned to account,
as grasped by the vigorous intellect of the middle age,
had reached its maturity, and when, on the destruction
Greek empire, the seeds of that literature were
d on the fertile soil of the free west. It is easy to
and why that new and peculiar mental culture, that
nturies later was developed among the western nations,
at once spring up; that we see not, immediately after
convulsions, the flowers and fruits of the new creation.
ginal elements were too heterogeneous, out of which
proceed in time the intellectual form and shape of
Europe. German poetry, such as the northern na-
ought with them in all their sagas, recollections and
to their new settlements; Christianity, as they
it from the Romans, and finally all the treasures that
ained of the history, the sciences, and the arts of
antiquity, these elements were too heterogeneous to be
combined into a new and living whole. Even in later
has been often difficult to fuse the diverse elements
vilization into a perfect and harmonious unity.

uding our remarks on these southern migrations of the
nations, effected chiefly by the Goths, and from the
shall now direct our attention to those from the north.
Franks and the Saxons, peoples of kindred race,
from the north-west of Germany, were still hea-
hen they took possession of Gaul and Britain.
and at once were the Franks converted, after the
of their king, to Christianity, and as they them-
ld received it in this compulsory manner, so in turn
impose it by force on the Alemanni, and subse-
on the German Saxons. It was Catholic Christianity

they embraced, and this gave them an immediate and g
advantage over the Arian Goths. They were ruder
most of the German nations we have been hitherto describ
but oppressive as their yoke may in many respects have b
yet the vast energy displayed by the country immediately
the first immigration, when compared with the feebleness
which it had sunk in the times of the last Roman empe
proves at least that even the Frankish was better than th
Roman sway. Even Clovis was a systematic conqu
Together with northern, and the greater part of the re
Gaul, he subdued all the independent Frankish princes
remaining, the Alemanni, and most of the Thuringians.
spite hereditary partitionings, these conquests were conti
extended, and rounded off by his successor step by step
according to their geographical situation. Thus were sou
Gaul and the remainder of the Visigothic kingdom i
porated with the Frankish dominions by force of arms.
ancient Gaul could now be rightly called France,* and i
interior of Germany Frankish influence became very cons
able, when the conquest of Thuringia and of Bavaria
completed, although their inhabitants remained in man
spects free, and their dukes powerful. The same may be
of northern Italy, even before Charlemagne extended
conquests in this direction, and completed the circumfe
of the empire. The succession of the Merovingian k
their partitions and reconstructions of the kingdom, and
disputes, are not on the whole or in their consequences pa
larly instructive. One would almost believe, on readin
history and the character of both these Frankish dyna
the Merovingian and the Carlovingian, that certain qua
that virtues and vices, were hereditary in families. I
history of the former we find, until their energies were w
extinguished, hardly anything else than a continual pict
vice and tyranny, of unheard-of cruelty and wild rev
which, inherited as in the families of Atreus and Thy
ever engendered fresh crimes. The latter, from the very
mencement of the dynasty, from Pepin to its extinction,
distinguished by an especial attachment to religion,
certainly is not to be attributed to policy alone, but in p
least to inward conviction. If discord and revenge n
thus engrafted, can thus grow afresh, it is conceivabl

* That is, kingdom of the Franks.

rinciples likewise, though they may not always secure
weakness and passion, may, in proportion as their
tested by time, become a predominant mode of thought
econd nature in princely houses. Not always in them-
bsolutely praiseworthy, yet in comparison with the
ngians, must the Carlovingians appear the better race
unprejudiced mind.

eneral history, the most important event of all was
lual development of the Frankish constitution, which
the time of the Merovingians exercised much in-
over Germany, and which alone explains the rise of
lovingian dynasty, and its advance from the dignity
r-domo to that of the restored empire.

e new state of things the old Germanic constitution
ily underwent very essential changes. For a not very
is people of one and the same race it might have
cellent; but now its simplicity was no longer always
e to the exigencies of the times, nor, from the mere
s of the country and the diversity of the population,
of being acted on. In the old Germanic constitution
as in reality but one order. As the hereditary right
princes was not exactly defined, as their power was
e, and the election of the dukes free, the princes
ves were not separated from the nobles by any in-
le barrier; they approximated closely to each other;
e order of freemen, too, was more a degree, than a
t and wholly separate class. The freemen indeed
ly possessed the rights of nobility, namely, that of
arms, that of assisting armed at the Diets, and that
icating themselves their outraged honour; rights which
eemed in most countries in after-times the exclusive
e of the nobility. After the great conquests were
and consolidated, the state of things became very
t. The kings were now grown powerful, and were
ger mere princes, the first and highest of the nobles
ople, but appeared as monarchs, surrounded by hitherto
ed pomp, and wholly separated from other men. The
mportant change, however, was that in the order of
n. In them lay the reality, the energy of the nation,
y were the foundation and the strength of the arrière-
r general military levy. The order of freemen, and

with it the arrière-ban, fell into decay and neglect, be
the principles and proceedings of the conqueror are, in
effects, as injurious to internal freedom as they are dang
to the safety of his neighbours, when his mind is not be
great objects, but only on constant and gradual aggra
ment of his immedate possessions; when he is more
ous of wealth than really ambitious of fame.

Two kinds of military association and military s
existed among the ancient Germans; the arrière-b
national armament, and the feudal service of the lieg
noble attendants, or, as they soon began to be called, v
bound personally to the king or prince. On partitio
conquest, the king would naturally bestow the bes
richest shares upon his companions; hence these liege
the king became extremely powerful. The one elem
the old Germanic constitution thereby obtained a
portionate preponderance; and the old national nobili
displaced by a new feudal and ministerial nobility,
interests and feelings were different from those of the
and who were devoted to the person of their liege lord
The other element in the old constitution—the order of f
—lost in proportion as the ascendancy of these feudat
the king gained ground. Some by compulsion surre
their freedom, and became vassals; others did so volu
in order to be free from the arrière-ban; for when sum
thereto, the warrior had to maintain himself at his o
pense; and this service was more burdensome and opp
in proportion to the size of the kingdom. The very
however, whereby the power of the king was at
much increased, occasioned it to be secretly undermin
at last reduced to a mere shadow. In proportion
feudatories and vassals of the king grew all-powerful
more practicable for the chief of them, the governor
palace and court of the king, when the latter was
man, to become the virtual monarch. In this manner
first dynasty of the Merovingians expelled by the majo
whose office had become hereditary. The new-raised
produced in Pepin of Heristal, in the victorious
Martel, and in the sagacious King Pepin the First
series of heroes and energetic rulers, that perhaps
man in history had his path so prepared for him as

The reproach of usurpation can the less be made
the ancestors of Charlemagne, as the commencement
power was quite constitutional. The kingdom of the
moreover, was originally not strictly hereditary,
h the first Merovingians appear to have sought to
as such ; they ruled indeed in general with harshness,
oppressed the people, and imitated more and more the
ion and the manners of the later Romans. But the
f the people were still fresh in their memory, and by
ee election, according to the old Frankish law, the
rs of Charlemagne, as dukes, protectors, and friends of
ple and of freedom, attained to that supreme power,
as it had been long founded on a constitutional basis,
received in the ecclesiastical sanction its supreme con-
n. Of the conquests of Charlemagne, it has been
marked that in extending the Frankish empire from
er to Rome, from the Ebro to the Raab, and even
he merely completed what had been commenced
generations before. As in Spain, by the Margravate
celona, he secured the frontier against the restless
medan foe ; so in the opposite quarter, by advancing
ire into eastern Germany, as far as the Raab, he re-
Austria to it; Austria, which then was the extreme
, was in after-times to become in so many respects the
of Germany.

army which Charlemagne inherited from his prede-
was strong and well disciplined. To form a judg-
f him as a general, we ought to be better acquainted
is adversaries, and know what they were in this re-
Against the Arabs in Spain, and the Saxons in Ger-
his warfare was not always successful ; in the one
effected his object very imperfectly, in the other the
ever broke out afresh.

lemagne's cruel treatment of the subjugated Saxons,
m Christianity was forcibly imposed, is rather to be
l than defended. The wars waged for several genera-
etween the Saxons and Franks may have greatly in-
the national hatred of the two peoples, and it was the
itter, perhaps, because both were of a nearly kindred
The wild fanaticism of the Mahommedans, who re-
the propagation of their creed by force of arms as a

sacred duty, necessitated the Christian warriors to a d
of their faith, and hence a spirit of bitterness may hav
too easily transferred to the wars against all non-Ch
peoples. Towards the heathen nations this was very
since against the Mahommedans alone would the ri
self-defence and retaliation be at all applicable, and ju
religious war.

Charlemagne's first peace with the Saxons was more
its provisions than the subsequent ones. He may ha
their subjugation much at heart, as it was indispensa
the accomplishment of his plans. Judging from the ch
Aix-la-Chapelle for his capital, and from the cas
erected for his residence, from Ingelheim, near Maye
Nymwegen, he wished to make the fertile districts al
great navigable river between France and Germa
wished to make the Rhenish provinces, the old cradl
Franks, the centre of his vast monarchy. And it i
be doubted that their high civilization, which speedi
passed that of any other German provinces, is attri
chiefly to him and his prescient care. But to sec
Rhineland as the centre of the whole empire, it wa
sary to extend the northern frontier, and to sub
Saxons in Germany; and it was easily foreseen th
would never be tranquil till they were converted to
anity.

It will ever remain a reproach, however, against
magne, and against the Franks in general, that on
occasions they adopted means for the diffusion of Chr
so little congenial with its spirit. Very different
respect were the proceedings and the mode of thinkin
Anglo-Saxons in Britain. This German colony of S
England differed remarkably from the kingdom es
by the kindred nation of the Franks, and the disadv
the comparison is almost always on the side of th
The immigration of the Saxons into England, which
tinued for a long space of time, was incomparal
numerous than that of the Franks; so that the wh
lation in the most fertile parts of the island, the s
east, became purely Germanic and Saxon. For a con
time the Saxons in their new seats remained still
it was then occurred those wars of the Christian a

thur against the Saxons, which became afterwards so
ed in the lays of chivalry. When once the Saxons,
r, were converted to Christianity (and this change was
about, not by compulsion, but by the preaching of
aries sent from Rome), Britain soon became most
ably distinguished above all other provinces of the
bove France, even above Italy, in literary knowledge,
was then to be found, and in general intellectual
Not by the sword did the Anglo-Saxons propagate
nity, like the Franks, but many Christian teachers
them, leaving their tranquil dwelling-places in Eng-
enetrated into the wilder districts of the interior of
y and of Switzerland, there with heroic self-devotion
the doctrines of religion. Vast services did they also
to those countries by the diffusion of knowledge, by
ening of manners, and even by the tillage of the soil.
obly the old Germanic constitution was maintained
eloped among the Saxons is best proved by the fact,
ny of the best institutions in the famous English con-
n are derived from those times, and from the Saxons.
rises superior to his age incomparably more than
nagne to his; and the comparison might terminate
ier unfavourably to the latter, if, instead of judging
extent of power, and the splendour of empire, we
contemplate only the quiet greatness of the man. We
then place by the side of Charlemagne the pious king
constant and unwearied under misfortune, cheerful
s sorrows; as a minstrel visiting the camp of the foe,
erdsman wandering unknown among his own people;
ien success and victory had crowned his courageous
and he beheld his country saved, still preserving
tion in all things; mild and humble, he who knew so
hat is scarcely allowed to his times, who had founded
y wise and beneficial institutions, that even still excite
iration of mankind.

lemagne's sphere of action was greater, and the con-
es of his actions and the results of his institutions
eater for all Europe. However much of his military
nay be due to his predecessors, a great and clear
anding is visible in all his own measures, even those
administration of his property. As a lawgiver, per-

haps, he most deserves our admiration, and his influenc
such was felt for centuries. He is to be regarded as
founder of the constitution of the three estates, and of
system of polity of all succeeding ages, even down to
own. From him was derived the idea of the empire,
was understood in the middle ages, as that of Christen
or the ecclesiastical confederation of all the western nat
The influence he has exerted over all Europe for a thou
years, as a lawgiver, is so important, that it requires sep
consideration. In the first place, however, we must
moment contemplate his own age, and what he accompl
for its scientific and mental culture.

The attention he bestowed on all the monuments and
of ancient art in Italy, the friendship in which he lived
the learned Englishman Alcuin, the association into whic
entered with him and some other scholars, and in whic
assumed the name of King David, and one of the others
of Homer, dispose us to form a favourable judgment of
The Latin schools he founded in every quarter, as far as
cumstances permitted him, served to perpetuate and d
more generally whatever knowledge had been handed
to his times from the nations of antiquity. But his effo
rescue from oblivion, and to reanimate the national lan
and poetry of Germany, excite our curiosity the more, a
documents he gathered together with this object have
lost. What would we not now give still to possess tho
German poems, which we are told he collected, as did
Lycurgus and Pisistratus the rhapsodies of Homer, and
have excited so many wishes and inquiries! This is a ci
stance so important to the history of the German mind,
feel myself compelled to pause, and to attempt, by a fe
marks, to explain what notion we ought to form to our
of these German poems collected by Charlemagne, or
orders, and how far they may have perished, or may
influenced later traditions and ages, and been partially
served, at least as to their contents, even down to ou
times. Charlemagne's encouragement of the German lan
and poetry is as it were a fixed point of view, whence w
survey and judge the state of intellectual culture in hi
The fact, attested as it is by credible witnesses, that
make a collection of old German lays, and draw up a G

or cause one to be drawn up, can the less be called
n, as his whole family was entirely of Low-German
d chiefly resided in that country. If the later kings
st dynasty adopted with other Roman customs the
oman dialect, yet we have the most explicit testimony
e court of the Carlovingians, not the modern Latin,
Frankish language, which did not differ essentially
Anglo-Saxon, predominated. Charlemagne's predi-
r Germany is revealed in the choice of his residences,
ation of the chief cities and castles he founded, and
n the direction of his conquests, which he pushed
nd followed up most vigorously in this quarter.
of the Carlovingian dynasty may be considered
as a national reaction; for under them and through
original manners and constitution, and therewith
ge, of the Franks once more revived.
re many traces and proofs that German poetry and
n language were revived and assiduously cultivated
e of Charlemagne and his immediate successors.
s in the succeeding centuries often allude to the old
s still existing in great numbers in their time. How
e were then spread is proved by the circumstance,
emagne's son, Louis the Pious, out of mistaken con-
ess, reproached himself with having loved them in
and that it was found necessary to interdict the
der" to nuns. "Wyne" means friendship, and this
n we must understand as referring to such lays as
wards called "Minne-lieder." We still possess in
ero-poem, "The Saviour according to the Gospels,"
nd, with regard to the language, a very remarkable
of the Carlovingian times. As the object of this
was evidently to banish the old national poetry
ut ill adapted to Christianity, and to replace it by
l narration of the history of Christ, we may well
at he adopted the form of the lays he designed to
And this presumption is the more natural, as we
ry same form in a beautiful triumphal song over the
by a Carlovingian king Louis. This influence of
y, this unceasing regard to it, even in everything
one for the language and for poetry, is note-worthy,
es us to understand correctly in what spirit Charle-

magne collected those old German poems, and wha
nature was. It is a noble proof of the early developm
the German tongue, that translations of many theologic
philosophical works of the ancients existed in it at
when the Italian, the French, and in general all the lan
derived from the Latin, still fluctuated in a barbarous s
transition between the Latin form, that was now
corrupt, and the modern form, that was still crude a
shaped, and in reality had no existence as defined and p
tongues. Among many other Christian writings of Carlo
times in the German language, there still exists a C
catechism, in which is expressly contained the qu
"Dost thou renounce Woden and the Saxon Odin?"
then can we believe that, in such a state of public o
Charlemagne could have collected the lays of the old G
poets of the heathen times, whom we incorrectly term
Such, for example, as the old Swedish and Danish ones
Odin, whom the Saxons invoked with vows upon the
mountains for aid against Charlemagne's victorious arm
whom they had to abjure on their subjugation. Did the
exist in oral tradition at this time any sagas and so
Arminius, they were undoubtedly too much interwove
heathen mythology not to have shared with it the sam
Yet, from the whole bearing of historic records, the
indisputably heroic lays that Charlemagne collected; h
tainly not from the heathen times must we look fo
origin. That among the Franks in Roman Gaul, su
converted to Christianity as they were, any peculiar
should have been developed, is improbable; no trace a
of such is to be found during the whole period of the
vingian dynasty. If then these lays were neither old
manic and heathen, nor national Frankish popular
what else can we conclude them to have been, than the
Gothic hero-poems, of whose existence there are so
documentary proofs, and which, although in the later
into which they were recast in the thirteenth century, a
preserved to us? What else are they but the heroic la
celebrate Attila and the last Burgurdian kings—the
Theodoric and Odoacer—those priceless memorials
German language and poetic spirit, which still exist un
names of the "Nibelungen-lied" and the "Heldenbuch

ials, that Bodmer first strove to rescue from oblivion, essing laboured critically to investigate and compre- nd whose high value and historical importance John üller fully recognised, proceeded from these ancient ; poems which in their beautiful simplicity and heroic come nearer to the unapproachable Homer than any l imitations whatsoever. We may not possess these oems in the forms in which they existed in Charle- s time, but the sagas on which they were founded, and a similar purport taken from Gothic heroic story, were tedly those which Charlemagne caused to be collected. e fortunate in having preserved the echo at least of f them, even if many have passed away for ever.

will be the most appropriate place to make some nal notices on the heroic sagas of the Goths.

kingdoms founded by the Goths were but of short n; but their fame and their memory were long cherished German nations, not only in historical works, but in gas and poetry. The bold enterprises, the unexpected ions, and high destinies, by which the history of the is characterized, from the very foundation of their ionarchy that stretched from the Black Sea, deep into art of Germany, and from their settlement in the empire down to their final downfal, appear to have resh impulse to the imagination, and to have animated w strength the love of poetry peculiar to all the Ger- nations. The northern idolatry was retained only by hs in Sweden, while all their southern kinsmen had ed Christianity. But if the names of the old gods appeared, yet the legends remained of spirits and of , and the heroic life itself furnished matter enough heroic poem. It is immaterial whether the subjects of belong to the present or to the past, provided only a life, or in a generation, imagination on the whole igher sway than the understanding. Then in that either kind of objects equally capable of exciting the tion rather than the understanding, and of originating agas and conceptions. Even if Jornandes, the his- f the Goths, had not himself told us he had drawn a rt of his work from the Gothic heroic lays, and had translated them into Latin prose, we could readily

have inferred as much from the whole style and charac
the book. Hence is it unreasonable to waste so much c
blame upon the work, which ought rather, if taken fo
it really is, to be considered a most precious memori
relic of the heroic sagas of German antiquity. A
career especially, frightful indeed as it was, but yet
nating for the imagination, appears to have yielde
material to the hero-poems. There still exists an old
poem on the revenge of his last Burgundian bride; a
period, and indeed throughout the middle age, sag
legends were frequently transferred from the popular
into the more widely diffused Latin, the literary and
language of the time. The Hungarian chronicles also
much respecting Attila, that belongs rather to the leg
than the historical, and that is to be classed with the G
heroic poetry; other fragments of the kind we pass ov
is not, therefore, a mere hypothesis that the "Nibel
lied," and the "Heldenbuch" are founded on older
lays, but the fact is proved and attested by testimon
records of various kinds.

The oldest monument of the German language t
now possess, the well-known Gothic translation of the
attributed to Ulphilas, belongs to this period. Trans
of Holy Writ, especially of the Gospels, are the olde
morials of almost all modern languages, and particul
the German dialects; a fact quite incompatible wi
opinion of those, who believe that in the middle age
effort was made to withdraw the Scriptures from the
For knowledge of manners, and for the history of m
heroic poem, in which for example the misfortunes
aged Ermanaric, the daring campaigns of many other
the history of the ancient royal house of the Amal
celebrated, would be far more instructive and more w
than these translations. Even as it is, however, th
very important. Language is, after all, the best and
reflection of the mode of thinking, of the state of mi
of the degree of civilization among a people. Wh
examine closely this Gothic dialect, identical (as
from certain records) with that of the Ostrogoths in
when we perceive, on the strangeness of the first imp
wearing off, and allowing for some foreign intermixtu

foundation of our present language; when we
he signification, the combination, and the derivation
rds, in its beautiful and simple system of gramma-
s, and in its roots, a striking, a more than accidental
to the noblest and most polished languages of
d Asia—the Greek, the Persian, and the Indian
it scarcely possible for us to conceive that the
ermans are to be put on a level with the American
r with the Caffres. And we can the less do so, as
sent day the languages of those savages have been
described, and are sufficiently known to enable
tute a comparison, and to convince ourselves how
he difference. It has been a subject of dispute
is Gothic monument belongs to the Swedish lan-
l antiquities, or to the German. In a certain
question is unanswerable. The Swedish, and the
ian nations in general, were, originally, one and the
h the German. This monument belongs to the
en the Germans, migrating into more southern seats,
ed from the main stock; and this migration occa-
e rise of the German as a separate language, which
k) is at once the sister and the daughter of the
ian, or old Swedish. My meaning is this. Our
anguage is known to be a commixture of two very
dialects, that of upper and that of lower Germany.
th the latter still predominates, in the country parts,
guage of the common people; for several centuries
en no longer cultivated or developed, but in the
of all philologists it is the elder, original dialect.
h only of this wide-spread dialect, the Dutch, has
n modern times any high and special culture. The
tionship of Low-German to Scandinavian or old
s well known, and is especially and strikingly
the elder languages, such as the Anglo-Saxon, and
alects as have remained unmixed, as the Frisian.
German dialect is a sister of the Scandinavian or
sh, but that of south or upper Germany is of later
l is not a sister, but a daughter of the latter.
migrations, new settlements, a new climate, and,
t on all this, a change in all the relations of life,
o great an alteration in a language, that new

dialects thereby spring up. When the Suabians an
Swiss, abandoning their former seats on the Baltic, sett
the south-west of Germany, as did the other Gothic tri
the south-east, then the German language began to a
a peculiar dialect distinct from the Scandinavian. The
duction of many foreign, especially Latin, words stamp
it additional peculiarity. The language now in genera
rary use, which we call High-German, is not a dialec
has rather sprung out of the commingling and mutual
fication of the two dialects we have spoken of.

We have already mentioned a great name that is t
portant in ancient German and northern history to be
over in silence. All northern sagas and mythology p
as is known, from Odin. Although Odin, deified
afterwards became, appears in the sagas to be a fa
being, yet it is undeniably certain that he was a re
torical personage, and that he effected a great revolu
the condition of a large portion of the German natio
of the whole north. Not only the oldest dynasty
Danish and Swedish kings, the Skioldunger and Ing
were derived from Odin, but to him even the Cl
Anglo-Saxon kings in Britain traced their origin.
these traditions, quite independent of each other as th
point to Saxony as Odin's chief seat; there was he kin
thence did he move to the north to build Sigtuna,
found a kingdom in Sweden. On subjecting these g
gical tables to a calculation based on the average dura
human life, they agree in placing Odin's life at a rath
period, in the third or even fourth century of our era.
later Icelandic historians, who were already familia
Roman history, bring him first out of Asia, fro
Caucasus to Saxony, and refer this event to the ti
Mithridates, we can only see in this a futile attempt
nect the sagas of the north with Roman history.
first immigration of the Germans this narrative wo
much too late; and for the real Odin, according to the
genealogical tables, much too early. In all historical
bility, Odin was a hero and king in northern German
at the same time, as the legend expressly states, a poe
did Mahomet by the power of his eloquence and his
so did he also in the north, as a seer and hero, by the

rse, become the founder of a new religious system
ip, or at least of one much altered and remodelled.
it very conceivable that he was himself deified.
until long after could this have happened, that he
ully confounded with the supreme God of the
ermans, Woden, as in the Christian catechism
vly-converted Saxons in the time of Charlemagne he
y distinguished from Woden; he is also described
peculiarly belonging to the Saxon people. In what
e mythology of Odin, which in Sweden long re-
advance of Christianity, differed from the more
ligion of the Germans, it would be difficult to

On the whole, we see in both the existing
cal collections of the Icelanders the same worship
rits of nature, and the primary powers of nature,
evailed in the earlier belief of the north. Yet
ip of water, fire, and the spirits of nature, may not
ave had so much spiritual significance among the
nans. That all the details were not changed by
he more certain, from the singular agreement of
vidual traits with the Asiatic myths, and the con-
f the ancient Persians and Indians. The most
ncident in the mythology of Odin is the saga re-
Balder and his death. This young and beautiful
om we may compare to Apollo, is by an unavoid-
ny doomed to death; all the benignant gods and
ve to save him; he appears saved, when an acci-
roys all, and he can no longer escape his destined
he lament for Balder's death is one of the chief
Odin's mythology, and reminds us of the wailing
s on his being snatched from Venus, and of the
s funeral commemoration of Osiris. Thor's burly
ngth reminds us also of the Hercules of the Greeks,
's malevolent cunning of the Arimanes of the Per-
the later Edda of Sturleson gives us a short but
ht into the whole mythology of Odin, the earlier
emund, consisting of fragmentary poems, character-
mysterious, inspired, prophetic tone, gives us per-
n in its very forms, an echo of those lays of the
prophetesses, with which the sacred groves of the
north often resounded.

As much as, or even more than, by his collectio
Gothic poems, did Charlemagne by his very life
general influence on the poetry and imagination of
nations. As, when fancy is still vigorous, great, wo
events, that leave nothing unchanged, usually bring
new epoch in the general mode of thinking, in saga
poetry; so did he himself, even though his acts were
by contemporary and truthful historians, become,
after his own times, a subject of poetry, and a fabu
sonage. It is surprising that in the poems of chi
which he was the subject, and whose origin is of con
antiquity, he himself plays a very subordinate, almost
part. The Normans, whose romantic spirit first
the real history of Charlemagne into a subject of poet
apparently conceived the energetic hero to resemble
cessors, such as they found them, honoured, gorgeous,
meaning, yet far from independent, not unlike an easte

Many reasons may be assigned for the short du
Charlemagne's Frankish empire. What had been
united by the mind and the strength of an extr
man soon fell asunder when the powerful hand w
drawn which held the whole together. Yet the we
his successors was not the only cause of the de
dissolution of the empire. Several of them indeed
tinguished by courage and understanding; and neve
partitions of the empire, and the disputes connec
with, occasion such atrocities among them, as in th
the Merovingian dynasty. On the whole, the sa
and wholesome principles of policy and moral life
under his successors as under Charlemagne himself.
must we trace the downfal of the empire to the
hostile nations alone; for as soon as internal warfa
as soon as the government acquired but a little powe
the Normans could accomplish aught against isolate
nor the Hungarians much against Germany, so tha
up the whole empire was utterly beyond their p
has been often a subject of wonder that Charle
whom so much sound and deep policy is attribut
himself have ordained the partition of the empire
by reason of the death of his other sons did it dev
upon Louis the Pious. There is sufficient ground

s partitioning did not depend altogether on Charle-
own choice, for it was constitutional, and an old
h custom connected with the feudal system. It is at
narkable, that among the Goths, to whom the feudal
prevalent among the Franks appears to have been but
own, partition of inheritances did not take place.
r the feudal institutions, if a younger son of the king,
m his father's love had bestowed even but a few
s, were brave, liberal, and high-spirited, he could
cquire so much consideration and power by the de-
ss of his vassals, that it would be necessary to cede
voluntarily what he might otherwise have attempted
n by force, and so have given rise to civil wars, that
legal partition did not always prevent. It was in
uests themselves we must seek the main cause why
agne's empire, like Alexander's of old, fell asunder
er his own time, and resolved into its natural ele-
By the very subjugation of all its northern districts,
conversion to Christianity, did united Germany—one
anguage, manners, ancient union, and constitution—
a very great power. As a mighty whole, it could no
emain dependent on a distant ruler, as was before
with some of its provinces. Germany's preponde-
rength was manifested in the fact, that after some
ons and several successive changes and partitions, the
entral Rhineland, and the northern parts of ancient
, fell ultimately to the Germans; while the southern
the latter province became, under the ancient name of
ly, a new and independent kingdom, which was in
nes incorporated with the Germanic empire. These
ritories, so admirably adapted for cultivation, Bur-
Lorraine, the Rhineland, and the Netherlands, had
agne apparently destined to be even in future times
f and central country of the whole empire; and they
ave become so, had the nations and the sovereigns
ited.

Italy, when the Lombard yoke had been broken by
nagne, when the Byzantine influence had been re-
to a nullity, when her unity had been to a great
estored by the removal of so many petty subdivisions
Italy felt herself sufficiently strong to wish for inde-

pendence, although unable to accomplish her will. Italy, France was the country the most enfeebled; a reason of this lay in its earlier corruption. On the hand, the evident vigour which Germany displayed after Charlemagne's death leads us to conjecture th growth of her power had early manifested itself, and us better understand how Charlemagne came to set suc value upon Germany, and here more than elsewhere to extend and uphold his sway.

In a general sketch of whole generations and of great those personages only should find a place who have cre epoch, who have changed the aspect of the world, and life embodies a world—a whole age in itself. Such ters are no longer to be found among the posterity of magne. Their destinies and their disputes, the freque rations and reunions of France and Germany, serve fill up the intervening space between Charlemagne total severance of France and Germany; when th country, having freely elected a king, stood forth a independent kingdom, and soon reached the summit of Now was brought about that great national union of Germanic peoples, which in earlier times had been ofte for in vain. From this period, from the elevation Conrad to the throne by the election of the whole down to the emperor Rodolph the First, Germany mightiest state of Europe; and scarcely can an exa found in history of a like, almost unbroken series of e heroes and great sovereigns, succeeding each other u throne, as in this great, free, and, for a time at least united elective empire.

LECTURES VI. & VII.

ON THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

THE empire which Charlemagne founded, as a co was not of long duration; but far more important in tory of the world has been his part as a lawgiver. respect he accomplished much for France in partic

to restore her old Frankish constitution, to uphold the
ban, to check the undue ascendancy of the feudal no-
y laws against hereditary succession; in a word, to
ack the nobility, that fundamental power in the state,
s altered circumstances then allowed, to their origi-
ctions. Yet are all these measures of less importance
rity, because in after-times all these relations were
y modified, and the measures Charlemagne adopted
e objects were enforced only during his lifetime, or at
ring the brief period of his dynasty. But a lawgiver
for all succeeding times, and for all western Europe,
manner, more especially, in which he fixed the relations
ch and state, and the bond of union which he formed
i them. For centuries was this union the foundation
onstitution, and even when it was partially changed,
ued to exert the most decided influence even down to
i times. The constitution of the three estates and the
institutions of the middle age first received from
agne a definite form, and the notion of a Christian
racy of all the western nations appeared visibly and
to be the object to which the spirit of the age directed
fforts. Even under Charlemagne's predecessors a close
stant union was maintained between royalty and the

Under the earlier Frankish kings the bishops
formed in the realm a separate estate; they took
e the dukes and counts, in affairs of state, and in the
eliberations, and sat and voted in the Imperial Diets;
fly under Charlemagne did all this become a recog-
rinciple, a part of the constitution, and obtain a de-
rm. Through him the clergy became an estate, which,
cond member of the body politic, might serve as a
poise to the nobility. Among the Romans the church
wn up quite independently of the state, quite sepa-
from it; her internal institutions had been fully
ed before she became predominant. Hence, even
ne Christian emperors, church and state, Christianity
lic life, remained quite distinct, some arbitrary inter-
g excepted. But it was quite otherwise among the
s; when they still adhered to idolatry, they had no
priesthood, but all sacerdotal rights and duties were
and intermingled with the political institutions and the

national concerns. The circumstance expressly mentio
Tacitus, that the priest of the nation was elected by the
bled people, and the influence on the other hand exerted
priesthood upon the national judicature and national
would be sufficient to satisfy us of this. This fact easily a
for a certain mingling of ecclesiastical and civil affairs
the Germans after their conversion to Christianity
frankly incorporated Christianity with their whole politi
and conceded to it great influence on their public conce

Eminently as Christianity was adapted to all natio
each, on first receiving it, displayed its own peculiar ch
in the manner of the reception and in the direction g
it. His inborn melancholy and profoundness of feel
the Egyptian as a hermit into the rudest deserts. The
brought to religious subjects the dialectical acuteness s
liar to them, and early enough also the contentiousne
nected therewith. The Romans, of a more practical
mind, organized the ritual requisite for the Christian m
with becoming dignity, and instituted a most beautif
monial ; and, as every society requires well-defined la
drew up with sagacity the rules of life necessary for th
and smaller ecclesiastical and Christian societies. Th
mans, lastly, fought like true knights for the Christia
when once they had embraced it, against its fanatical
Moreover, instead of severing Christianity from life, a
for eternity were a thing apart, they, with a full
sentiment of the priceless treasure they had acquired
Christian organization to their whole domestic and pu
referring it to and basing it on the church. The effec
union were soon manifested, and many examples, e
among the Franks, are found of that intermingling
siastical and civil affairs which sprang from it.

As the bishops took part in the Imperial Diets
dukes and counts, so also were kings, dukes, an
often present at the synods and assemblies of the
Christianity and the body politic, church and sta
thoroughly united and interwoven. Charlemagne, w
to bring back the clergy, like the nobility, to their
functions, marked out and defined as far as possible
spective lines of demarcation between civil and eccl
functions, as in the imperial assemblies he divided th

e high nobility into two chambers. The clergy became
r a peculiar order, a distinct member of the body
; in part united to the nobility, in part separate from it,
nes co-operating with it, sometimes limiting its exclusive
ce in many ways. The inner structure and organization
tate grew now more compact ; but in order to judge cor-
f these institutions, and of the ideas whereon they were
we must look back to all the circumstances and wants of
mes. It is certain that the feudal and ministerial no-
at first the support and instrument of the royal power,
ten threatened it with danger. Hence for the regular and
n security of regal authority nothing was so necessary
irable as a permanent counterpoise to the nobles, another
qual to them in power. The citizen-class scarcely existed
estate, at least it was not sufficiently powerful or
ed, to constitute at this period a counter-balance of
portance to the nobility. It was not until long after-
that the class of burgesses was added to the two others
ird estate, which thereby completed the constitution of
; its development was not a little accelerated and fur-
by the ecclesiastical order, whose objects were often
t from the interests and the power of the nobility, or
opposition to them.

he nobility, which at that time, from ceaseless wars and
had become altogether military, seemed to contain in
he concentrated strength of the nation, the intelligence
latter, whether perpetuated from antiquity or recently
l, was mainly to be found in the clergy. These were
positaries of all the Christian knowledge, literature,
ilization, derived from Rome, and which in numberless
he state itself needed. Contrasted with the clergy, this
an Roman element of the state and of civilization, the
y may be regarded as the Germanic element of the then
ation, for they were the depositaries and guardians of the
ve German manners and maxims of honour and freedom.
ass of nobles and warriors, as the concentred strength
state, was identified with the particular state, with the
lar nation, to which it belonged. But if all Chris-
tions were to be united into one great confederacy, into
ropean republic, if one common bond were to embrace
ll, it was indispensable that in every state, together

with the national order, namely the nobility, another
should exist as a connecting link with the general bo
Christian nations, and in order that the union might be
and efficacious. These two estates and powers were in
times in many respects complementary of each other
when Charlemagne (I name him because he creat
epoch, as a legislator, although many of his predecesso
already acted before on the same principles, and many
institutions were developed by one or other of his succ
based the constitution upon these two orders, upon their
need of each other, and on their living influences, he w
therein to be blamed. He felt himself great and po
enough to leave free play to others, and to grant them
and honour within the limits assigned to them by natu
reason. Many of his institutions had undeniably no
object than that of confirming and extending the royal
but like many of his ancestors, he was also a man
people. He not only left to the nobility their her
rights, but he sought also to infuse fresh life into this
of the old vigorous constitution, as likewise in an e
manner to elevate the clergy, well feeling the necess
the time. A really vital power does not repose
destruction of all free life around it; rather will a rul
powerful mind and a great soul, be stronger, the more
free energy exist in the entire body politic.

The essential mission of the ecclesiastical order to an
God to men, and to lead them to him, is in all tim
changeably the same; but the external relation of tha
can never be otherwise dependent on circumstances.
is often overlooked by those who demand that the
should be brought back to the condition of the p
teachers of Christianity. If education is recognised a
the chief objects of the clerical calling, then surely the
tion of nations, the softening of manners in warlike t
the cultivation of the land as well as of the mind,
be considered alien to the ecclesiastical mission. F
end, power, influence, and wealth were necessary.
wealth was at that period comparatively rare, hence
chiefly landed property by which the clergy were e
They were thereby still more closely linked to the state
Germanic constitution was chiefly based upon landed p

endently of the larger endowments of kings and several circumstances contributed to add to the roperty of the clergy. It was a thing required by the f the time, and all writers with one voice proclaim ich the cultivation of the soil gained thereby, how igged and even desert tracts were reclaimed by the of monks, and converted into fertile fields. How- ich individual ecclesiastics may have misused the accumulated by so many donations, yet on the whole gy, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, are fully to this praise. The Benedictine order in particular in all Europe the twofold glory of having preserved er part of the works and knowledge of antiquity for ivation of the mind, and of having everywhere tilled ellished the soil.

quality of the protector of the church was regarded out the middle age as the essential attribute of the . With reference to that free confederacy of all states and peoples, which is now as much desired as e need only translate this term into our modern poli- lect, to perceive how morally and politically great was of the empire, such as Charlemagne and the better emperors, from Otho the Great to Rodolph of Haps- d conceived and realized it in all their actions. If, in rse of time, it was not always practicable to maintain relations between church and state; if, in the con- tween the German emperors and the Roman see, they ternately and mutually destroyed each other's power; must not on that account misjudge the great principle or which men strove, nor the extraordinary energies of veloped in the struggle. In modern times it has been to establish a free confederacy of all civilized states, eral equitable relations between them, in a very dif- nanner, by political artifice. We must not forget that inment of this object by such means has been often uite as difficult, or even impracticable, as by means of imperial dignity and the Papal power.

n the bishops had acquired so much influence in the hen they had become estates of the realm, it naturally l that the supreme bishop of Christendom should enter w relations towards Christian states, which, though not

indeed necessarily arising from his ecclesiastical and sp
functions, were yet by no means inconsistent with them.
of old, and as early as the first centuries, the bishop of
was recognised as the first and chief bishop of Christe
that is to say, distinct testimony of his pre-eminence i
found in those times, and this is recognised by learne
testants themselves. The difference between them and
lics consists herein, that Protestants, even when they
assume, that that pre-eminence first arose at the time th
mony is found, yet consider it as something altogethe
dental, unessential, or even injurious to religion; v
Catholics believe that this pre-eminence was express
blished by our Saviour, the founder of the church, a
this unity is inherent in the essence of Christianity. A
extent of the rights to which the chief bishop is entitl
ferences of opinion have undoubtedly prevailed am
learned on the Catholic side. It may be difficult,
impossible, strictly to define beforehand in all cases th
of this influence, and how far it should extend. This
more the case, as one and the same question, under differ
cumstances and at different times, may take a totally
form, and become something totally different. The
really and sincerely desire unity, will hardly ever co
serious dispute upon that point—will never be in dou
where the centre of unity is to be found. But those
bent upon discord, or violent encroachments, will at al
among the countless multitude of earlier cases and e
that present themselves, easily find some plausible gr
right—some fact that testifies in their favour, althou
difference of circumstances there may be no real analo
make this a cloak and apology for their designs. Tr
this character the church and Christianity have exp
at almost all times more or less; but often as they n
had the appearance of success, not one of them
effected the overthrow of that church.

It is far from surprising that Charlemagne should
riched the Roman see with large endowments, laying
the foundation for the subsequent states of the church
reasons may be assigned for such a measure. Eve
early times, under the heathen emperors themselves
man bishops possessed great wealth, even in lands. Th

intended for personal expenditure; but, besides other
tical wants, was destined especially for the education
port of a large number of ecclesiastics, as well as for
nses of their journeys either to propagate Christianity,
ep up the living communion of the church. In later
e Roman bishop possessed especially large demesnes in
nd Sicily. When he was deprived of these by the
and the Greeks, what was more natural, than that the
conquerors should supply the loss to him by other
? It was moreover a universal custom to make,
y in the remoter parts of the empire, such voluntary
nts an instrument of security. The especial circum-
also to be added, that the power of the Roman bishop,
om the Lombards had long been at enmity, could con-
much to secure their new Italian conquests to the
These are the political reasons which may be adduced
e endowments; subsequently, another consideration
be added. It was not until liberated by Charlemagne
oppression of the Lombards and the Greeks, that the
see could again enforce its ancient claims, and rise
w dignity. Very willingly did Charlemagne co-ope-
restoring the ecclesiastical and spiritual authority of
f bishop to its full efficiency, as this appeared to him
st and most fitting means for reforming the church, and
roducing, as far as circumstances would allow, the
of ancient discipline. A reformation was of the
essing urgency, as it may have happened that seve-
ps, from the increase of wealth and political influence,
in their spiritual functions. Other emperors also,
Henry the Third, contributed much to bring into
the power of the Roman bishop as supreme head of the
In earlier times, it was precisely the most powerful
s who conceded most to the ecclesiastical authority.
t only the state, but also the church, might be governed
ymmetrical constitution, and with strict regularity, it
to them necessary, together with the aristocratic
of the ecclesiastical body, the episcopal power, to
lso the monarchical authority of the universal and
head, and to render it efficacious. In proportion as
tions between church and state were unfolded, the
powers within the church were more developed.

Especially important was the circumstance, that the Ro
bishop had so often to act as umpire in the most impo
affairs of Europe, particularly from the time of Charlem
As it had been the custom among Christians, even fro
earliest times, to refer any diputes that might arise a
themselves to the decision of their bishop, as a volu
chosen umpire, it need not surprise us that now, whe
bishops had become an order and a power in the state
mighty ones—the kings and princes of Christendom—s
have so often appealed to the first of all bishops as jud
their differences; for by the princes themselves wa
head of the church first called upon to decide certain we
matters of state, and generally to exert influence ove
affairs of Europe. For this influence it is not necessa
seek especial grounds; there was a general foundation la
it in the partition of western Europe into several states
by the division of the empire among the Carlovingians
this power of the pope decidedly increased. Whatever
nion we may form of the abuse, which some popes may
made of this influence in the affairs of Europe, which ho
was wholly distinct from the essence of their spiritual s
macy, yet we cannot deny, on examining closely the v
the situation, and the spirit of those times, that it a
plished much good; that not seldom it protected th
pressed cause of justice; that often it was only the de
opinion of the people, the visibly predominant opinion
good men, which by the interference of the spiritual
became articulate, and acquired weight and often ever
ponderance. It seemed desirable and wholesome that
against the mightiest rulers one voice dared still be
aloud for justice—a voice of which he should stand in
which he could not silence by mere force. The Papal p
like the Imperial, was a popular one; the pope wa
organ and umpire of the European republic, which was al
felt to be a want, although it was not yet clearly set up
distinct ideal. This contributed much to the peculia
racter of European civilization; for, by this very influe
the popes, the European nations were placed in close
munion, yet without losing their independence. Here, i
was first manifested that ideal which is the foundation
European system of states and nations—an ideal of a ri

a free confederacy—which should embrace all nations
s of the civilized world, without sacrificing the unity,
and peculiar national development of any individual
We readily admit that this ideal was as little brought
rfection in those ages as is ours in modern times.
tions between the church and the empire in the middle
indeed never altogether in harmony, nor was that,
e great and good on both sides aimed at, ever com-
alized. Still less can it be our intention to justify all
idual acts of the popes and emperors; but, even of
t seem most blameworthy, we can rightly judge only,
have conceived the idea which was at the bottom of
litical efforts of those days, and have placed ourselves
dst of them. Rightly to trace this spirit of the
mes, and to bring it vividly before our eyes, is my
ect; and if it is neither possible nor even advisable
ss my own convictions in drawing a picture of this
t I hope never to fail in the strictest justice towards
pposite opinions. This justice is better taught by
han by anything else; for history regards the great
es which divide the human race, not as subjects of
but as events in the world, as the development and
the human mind; the judgment becomes infinitely
hen it is habitually directed to great objects.

has a state risen in so brief a space of time, and
limited power, and so perilous a situation, to such a
rance of strength, as Germany did during the period
rad the First to Henry the Fourth, from the be-
f the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century.
his series of emperors, several can be named, such as
he First, Otho the Great, Conrad the Salian,
ry the Third, who would have shone by the side of
renowned conquerors of antiquity, had their aim
rely the aggrandizement of power. But as they
ught the higher honour of governing and legislating
to law and custom, and of upholding order in
dom, as well as the ancient freedom of their father-
y were satisfied with moderately extending and
ning their kingdom. Conrad was the first king
by the five assembled German nations; he, however,
sufficient strength from his hereditary demesne to

enable him to uphold the full dignity and considerati
the Germanic crown. On his death-bed he magnanim
recommended the princes, passing by his own hou
elect the most powerful of the German princes, Henr
Saxon. The old Germanic constitution as an elective
dom has been censured, and all the evils have been
usually attendant upon that form of government.
every institution is good or evil according to the tem
the people and the character of the times; and in a co
in which such sentiments prevail as were evinced by
the Franconian in that magnanimous action, an e
monarchy may well exist. This whole succession of
getic and great kings and emperors is the best justif
of the elective form, based on the old Germanic consti
It occurred, moreover, precisely at the time when the
tution began to pass from the elective to the hereditary
for men were induced by the authority of a great e
not to go out of his house, and the son was elected
the lifetime of the father. In this case, if a minority
regency intervened, the empire would appear in a
and more uncertain condition. At the commencement
tenth century, a powerful, energetic, and valiant
was required as king of the Germans, for Germa
on almost all sides surrounded by enemies. In the w
a dispute with France in respect to Lorraine, Lothaire
dom, part of that northern central region in wh
Netherlands were included; on the north and east th
frontier was engirdled by heathen and hostile peo
Danes and the various Sclavonic races. The Hu
principally struck terror into all Europe. Their
into northern Italy, and into Germany as far as the
were the more devastating, as they were bent, not
quest, and on settling in the conquered territories, but
on amassing booty, and then returning home. In
space of time, even during the two reigns of He
First and Otho the Great, not only was Lorraine secu
Danes overcome, the north-eastern frontier towards t
vonic tribes gradually advanced, the incursions of t
garians put an end to by the battle of Merseburg, a
on the Lech, but even Italy and the imperial dign
annexed to the kingdom. Germany was already,

on, the most powerful state in Europe, even before
he Second, by treaty with its last heirless king, had
ted the kingdom of Burgundy, the whole southern
ie central region, including Savoy, Dauphiné, and
, into his German kingdom. The whole extent,
of the power and influence of the emperors was by
s confined within these vast territories, stretching
did from the Mediterranean to the Northern and
as. On the introduction of Christianity into Den-
hemia, Poland, and Hungary, this influence became
ceptible. The power of the German kings over
ntries was sometimes greater, sometimes less; and
as any definition of it, according to the principles
n Salic law would be, yet the relations with the
ed lands will enable us to form an adequate con-
f the authority in which the Germanic kingdom
emperor stood. The relations with Hungary were
remarkable and various. After the introduction of
ity, the greatest progress was there visible in every
f civilization; for in King Stephen, who, as a wise
and lawgiver, held the like relation to his people
ed had done to his, Hungary possessed one of those
, who rise far above their age, and who, for cen-
ng influence and guide the progress of civilization.
poch, likewise, occurs the restoration of Austria as a
c province. The eastern provinces of the Danube,
l at the era of the great northern migrations by
n and Gothic tribes, the Herulians, Rugians, and
ls, were subsequently conquered by non-German and
nations, without the German race, however, being
ated. The Franks strove to extend the empire even
in this direction; and by Charlemagne's conquests,
ere pushed as far as the Raab, Austria was again
ly freed. Under the last weak Carlovingians, these
narches were once more lost; and from that time it
mpossible to offer the least resistance to the inroads
Hungarians. The Austrian Margraviate, however,
by the Othos, flourished once more, under the Baben-
family, and soon surpassed the other German pro-
n blooming prosperity, trade, and culture.

Germany had become an independent elective king-

dom, each of the four principal German nations, the Fra
the Saxons, the Suabians, and the Bavarians, with the
ception of the latter, gave a dynasty to the state. Alth
the kingdom was an elective one, yet birth in the reig
house was an almost legally established claim for the succes
primogeniture, however, did not prevail; but a free ele
took place from among the several members of the reig
family. Even the succession of the eldest, if it was
with him, required the solemn confirmation of an elec
and on the extinction of a dynasty, the absolute rig
election reverted in full force. Each of the three dyn
of the German kings and emperors, the Franconian
Saxon, and the Suabian, lasted somewhat longer th
hundred years. They all resemble each other in this
the great military heroes and energetic sovereigns of
dynasty appear chiefly among the earlier kings and
perors; the later members, on the other hand, mani
greater predisposition to refinement, and less energy,
least an energy less severely disciplined, and less
applied, more irregular, more ungovernable. Thus
the First and Otho the Great were the heroes of the
royal line; the two last Othos were distinguished fo
family connection with the Greek imperial house, a
their predilection for southern magnificence and refin
They even copied the ceremonial of the Byzantine
and they may have conceived the idea possible of
blishing the seat of empire at Rome. The first emper
the Franconian dynasty, Conrad the Salian, and Hen
Third, were perhaps the most powerful and fortuna
perors that Germany ever had. The weakness a
ungovernable character of their successors contributed
to distract the empire by the great contest with the
although the motives for such a contest had alread
existed, and the struggle itself was inevitable. Amo
sovereigns of the Suabian dynasty, Frederick the
stern ruler, and a formidable, if not always successful,
shows how great and powerful an emperor even at th
was and might be. Frederick the Second, though
superior in refinement and boldness of intellect to
ceding emperors, indeed to all the sovereigns of the
age, yet, by the profligate employment he made of h

ught about the destruction of the German kingdom
re, such as it had existed in the middle age under
e above-named dynasties. Rodolph of Hapsburg,
him Maximilian, restored it, indeed, but the former
very different form. Thus in all three dynasties
bited a like progressive or declining movement from
o weakness, from a severe and regular system of
ent to a state of license and anarchy.
ese dynasties alike placed their highest glory in
g the imperial dignity, and in elevating it to a
of splendour. Frederick the Second was the first,
ns to have undervalued a dignity hitherto esteemed
st of all earthly dignities. We may add, that in
m of policy of the three dynasties, there was a
difference in the direction of their conquests. The
perors bent their energies against the hostile nations
orth and east, and laid thereby the foundations for
gth and greatness of the empire. In Italy they
me rather than sovereign possessions; in Germany
ey ruled with magnanimity and mildness. The
an emperors evidently aimed at unlimited power.
they sought to put down the freedom of the people,
their rights from the lesser nobility, or to discourage
of the cities; but undoubtedly they had the evident
of rendering the empire absolutely hereditary, of
g the peculiar rights of the different German states,
ing in every way the regal power, and perhaps even
ished the remoter plan of incorporating the great
with the crown. Their system of policy, thus
o the aggrandizement of power, as soon as it was
applied, laid the foundation for that contest with
ch, in which they were first involved. This
concerned the respective claims of the emperor
Roman see upon the ecclesiastical princes, whose
ce on their temporal superior these emperors ex-
h as much strictness and jealousy as they showed
xercise of any other of their royal rights. They
oreover, to have sought to obtain especial influence
church itself. No emperor before or after him
so much of this sort of influence as Henry the
nd although he made a good use of it, yet it was

naturally calculated to bring about a reaction. The Su
emperors finally neglected, not only the earlier acquis
and claims in the countries both north, west, and east o
empire, but even Germany itself and their imperial mi
in order to become the absolute rulers and monarchs o
beautiful Hesperian peninsula. In their time the co
between the church and the empire assumed a totally
ferent character, as the temporal interests of the indepen
or the subjection of Italy became involved in it.
regard to the acquisitions by conquest, those of the S
emperors were the most important, the most necessary fo
preservation of the state, and the most advantageous fo
growth of its true power. It has been doubted wheth
incorporation of the kingdom of Burgundy with th
Germany made any important addition to the true pow
the latter, since this sovereignty in Burgundy was n
sufficient duration for the two countries to become thoro
united, and it is easy to see how loosely even Lorraine
to the empire. At least, however, the western frontiers
secured by this acquisition, for even at that time F
could easily have become a most dangerous rival and n
bour to Germany.

In like manner, modern historians are almost unanim
of opinion that the connection with Italy, and eve
imperial dignity, was injurious to Germany. It may i
be admitted that the German kings, in the succeeding
would have been more powerful, if the state had ext
its conquests in other directions, or if the kings had a
their energies to the acquisition of unlimited power. I
civilization this connection was undoubtedly advanta
Italy might likewise have been secured, if the earliest
rors had resided in it more, especially in the norther
vinces, and had incorporated these more closely with
many. Under the Suabian emperors this was too late
by the acquisition of Sicily, not only the house of Suab
the imperial authority itself, wholly forfeited the affecti
the Italians, who then apprehended utter subjugation.

Despite all these limitations, the power of the
under the more vigorous emperors was very great.
cluded all Germany, together with Switzerland and H
northern Italy, and the eastern provinces of France

an often very palpable influence on Denmark,
and Hungary; and possessed an altogether incal-
power and grandeur in the opinion and belief of all
n nations.

e I proceed to give a picture of Europe in general at
iod of the crusades, the internal condition and the
constitution of Germany demand our attentive con-
n. This is the more requisite, as, in the historical
tations of that time, the German king is generally
n in the Roman emperor, or at least not sufficiently
This remarkable constitution undoubtedly deserves
careful examination, censured although it be by
writers, to whom this variety and free co-operation
rs, as manifested in the institutions of the several
nd their mutual relations, appears too complex, and
e state of anarchy. These historians desire but one
a state, have that alone before their eyes in writing
ry, namely, the progressive increase and consolidation
ited power and sovereignty.

nations assembled at the election of the first German
ie Franks, Saxons, Suabians, Bavarians, and Thu-
; of these, the Franks chiefly occupied the middle
s of the Rhine, together with the greater part of
nd the districts on the Main. These Frankish pro-
f the Rhine, as they were the principal abode of
agne, and especially favoured by him, had speedily
all the other German lands in refinement. Saxony,
which at that time constituted all northern Ger-
quickly rivalled Franconia in this respect. This
n the influence of the emperors of the Saxon race,
authority which the nation and the country thereby
, and from the effect produced by their habitual
in the country. The duke of Saxony was more
than the duke of Franconia, partly because his
s were more extensive, and partly because there the
wer was not so much circumscribed by great bishop-
t was in the Rhenish provinces. Suabia, including
nd Switzerland, retained the most traces of the
Germanic constitution, and that alone would entitle
e most attentive consideration. The old Germanic
freemen, which had almost everywhere else become

extinct through the ever-growing ascendancy of the fe
system, was longer preserved in its primitive equality,
tially at least, and as an isolated remnant of antiquity
the Suabian soil, and more perfectly still in the S
mountains, than in any other province of Germany.
Rhenish Franconia, the new constitution, such as it
been newly moulded and developed in the great Carlovi
empire, and its chief province, naturally predominated.
Saxony, doubtless, many of the ancient institutions fe
the ground at the conquest by which it was annexed t
empire. In the Saxon provinces, moreover, the incorpor
of so many Sclavonic localities and tribes was undoub
injurious to the old free Germanic constitution.

The Germans of this period have been reproached
oppressing and harshly treating the Sclavonians; an
deed with regard to the wars, waged as they were
obstinacy and animosity, the reproach may be well fou
As to the effects, however, of those wars on subsequent t
we may triumphantly refer to the flourishing prosperity
many provinces in north Germany, which were origi
Sclavonic, but had become wholly or partially Germaniz
German conquerors and colonists, as contrasted with
provinces which had retained throughout the old Sclav
constitution. Among the Sclavonians the separation bet
nobles and non-nobles was originally far stricter, the rel
of the former to the latter infinitely more oppressive.
is no trace of the original existence of a class of fre
among the Sclavonians as among the Germans. Of th
ternal strength, prosperity, and populousness of Germa
that time, these wide-spread German settlements in cou
that were before Sclavonian, such as Brandenburg, Mei
and Silesia, are calculated to give us a high idea.
conquest, without subsequent colonization, could never
accomplished so much. To this must be added the
armies that left Germany for Italy and for the cru
The incorporation of Sclavonian provinces and tribes,
ever, had incontestably an injurious influence on the
manic constitution. From two sides influences hostile
ancient freedom now acted on Germany. On the one
the new Frankish feudal spirit, before which the or
freemen gradually disappeared; on the other, the

on of the non-noble, unfree class which the Sclavonians ed. On the other hand, in the place of the ancient f freemen, the new order of burgesses arose in conse- of the increasing number and population of the cities ; ased in power and rights, till at last it became a third of the constitution, and thus completed the structure ody politic. The emperors fostered and in every way d the rise of this third estate. This policy was not uired by their interest, in order to establish a counter- the excessive power of the princes, but resulted from nature of their dignity. The power of the German and king was a popular power, and reposed entirely e force of public opinion, upon faith in the loftiness Imperial office, upon veneration for its sanctity. was an emperor of strong mind, even without large emesnes, almost all-powerful. Otho the Great could ant away his duchy on becoming emperor, without nt to his might as sovereign ; and, in after-times, the f Frederick the First was beyond all proportion to the f his hereditary demesnes. Utterly impotent, how- s the German imperial and royal dignity, if the bearer re personally incapable of upholding it. Much of the rmanic freedom existed in the then constitution, in a totally different and new form. Each of the e-named nations constituted a duchy. Saxony and ia existed as such even at the establishment of the kingdom ; Suabia and Bavaria were added soon after ; ia, a remnant only of the former rather considerable kingdom of the same name, which was overthrown by nks, was proportionately not so strong ; Lorraine, as afterwards added as a sixth duchy and nation, by f its fluctuating relations with France, as well as its ess, did not acquire such active influence as the other nations and members of the Germanic kingdom, he Franks, Saxons, Suabians, and Bavarians. Some it must be admitted, arose, especially between the nd Franks, as also between the different German whose diversity of character even yet, after so long mate a union, has not altogether disappeared. But dom well possible without some jealousy ? Many of of this time, it is clearly evident, were carried on

as were often the wars in the middle age, more like chiv
single combats than with the rancour of civil or na
wars. Such rancour was rarely exhibited in the e
period; but, from the reign of the unhappy Henry the F
it broke out more and more in the contests of the Gu
and Ghibellines.

The dukes were no longer elected by the people, as i
primitive times, but were nominated or confirmed b
king as Lord Paramount. The dukedom, notwithstan
was a peculiar national dignity, instituted for the defenc
protection of the rights and liberties of the individual na
in like manner as to the king was committed the care
entire realm. Easy as it was for the powerful German
to institute or depose the dukes, often as they gave
these dignities to their nearest relatives, yet we may pe
that even the most powerful emperors, even those who
at absolute sovereignty, shrunk from formally annex
lapsed dukedom to the crown. Hence we may infer tha
independence of the duchies was considered a principle
constitution. One of the many advantages of the el
system was, that no partition of the empire, which else
have been scarcely avoidable, could take place. The es
distinctions between the then existing constitution an
more ancient one may be thus summed up. The nobili
become much more powerful and dominant, but the dul
the king protected each his own people; the latter, as v
the bishops, favoured the towns in particular, in which
third estate was rising up, and soon also a new civili
began to flourish. All the elements, indeed, of a happy
stitution existed in the kingdom; but if these elements
not altogether harmonized—if these germs of a good
tution were never fully matured—the cause is to be soug
in those vehement commotions, which shortly afterward
vulsed all Europe, and swept the nations irresistibly al
their course. The towns and their flourishing prosperity f
a fresh proof of the vast internal strength of Germany
period. No individual city, indeed, attained to the gra
of some of the Italian cities, (and this, in the proximity
royal throne, was scarcely possible); but in the vast n
of her cities, that were yet very populous, flourishing
wealthy, Germany surpassed even Italy herself. The

the dukes was undoubtedly an obstacle to the attain-
absolute sovereignty on the part of the kings. Hence
y probable that the latter readily sought to augment
er of the bishops, and raised them to the rank of real
tical princes, in order to balance the excessive power of
poral princes. As early as at the election of Conrad
nd, we find, beside the chief nations, mention made of
cipal bishops, particularly of the three Rhenish arch-
as voting at the election.

it was precisely from this quarter that a violent tem-
w menaced Germany. It was the political power of
ops, who had been raised to the dignity of princes,
ir double relation to the church and to the state, so
to be reconciled, that occasioned the contest between
erial throne and the Roman see, that endured for a
and a half, that involved Italy and Germany in the
s feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and that
erminated by depriving the imperial dignity of its
and ancient authority (till it was restored by Ro-
nergetic love of justice), and by rendering the head
church outwardly a dependant on a foreign state.
test from the very beginning was the fiercer, from its
g in the reign of Henry the Fourth, an emperor of a
r as violent and passionate, as it was weak. His
gn was so utterly unsystematic and confused in policy,
appears more like a prolonged minority, and often
e an interregnum. On the other side stood a man,
the Seventh, to whom, even his enemies confess,
energy and strength of character, few can be found
history. The dispute related more immediately
wofold dependence of the bishops upon the church
state, and was in a certain sense irreconcilable,
r the king could or would surrender his feudal rights
iastical princes as such, nor the church on her part
the desire, that the bishops should above all, and
l, be churchmen. This was the real subject of dis-
d not merely this or that outward formality. Hence
ace was finally established, the terms of it were such
ual in irreconcilable disputes; neither party attains
its object, and an indecisive middle state is formally
and is accepted as a real decision. However neces-

sary and advantageous to the state the power of the
as an order, and their participation in the legislativ
deliberative assemblies of the empire might be,—little i
patible, too, as was this relation with their spiritual m
yet the case was very different as to their feudal relatio
least such as these were conceived at that period. Ev
earlier times bishops had been drawn into the field, an
grasped the sword instead of the pastoral staff, because
had acquired and possessed lands, to which military s
was attached as a feudal duty. Laws had been en
against this abuse, as early as the times of the Frankis
Carlovingian kings. Now that, partly from pious zeal,
from political motives, so much landed property was
in the hands of the clergy, great nobles and princes,
position gave them influence in the nomination to an
siastical dignity, and especially the kings, sought to inde
themselves by secretly or even publicly selling these
and dignities. This was not only a scandal, contrary
express laws of the church, recognised by the state
but we may well believe it to have much contribut
weaken and relax all legal and moral ties. This al
was, which Gregory the Seventh sought chiefly to p
end to. In the time of the powerful emperor Hen
Third, and supported by him, the German popes, wh
Gregory's immediate successors, and acted under h
fluence, had already commenced the reform of that unw
system of selling episcopal dignities. Gregory sou
strike at the root of the evil. It cannot perhaps be d
that he entertained the design of rendering the
wholly free and independent of the temporal power,
especially in the times immediately preceding him, ha
tainly exercised a very injurious influence upon ecclesi
discipline. If Gregory the Seventh interfered in G
affairs, he was called upon and appealed to by the p
and nations themselves, just as centuries before in the
vingian times, in similar cases, the chief bishop was
sidered the natural umpire in cases of dispute.
judge of this occurrence according to the manner
dominant ideas, and the public law of that era, and
our own, any surprise we may at first feel will the
appear. This extraordinary man has had the fate

eformers, to be either passionately applauded or pas-
ly censured. That he was a man of heroic strength
ll, and of the most comprehensive understanding, is
mitted even by those who utterly condemn his princi-
They confess also that he was a true reformer of the
at least as regards morality, and of the constitution
ng to the undoubted laws and principles of the time;
ther, that his own morals were severe and irreproach-
Of unbounded ambition alone is he accused. If he
ot even wholly free from this, yet his was no petty
dominion, but that noble ambition, without which no
nished man, filled with a great idea, will be found,
er he finds himself in a position to carry out and
the great all-powerful idea, that has penetrated his
soul, and at the sacrifice of every external advantage,
by his mind powerfully upon his contemporaries and
ll posterity. Gregory undoubtedly regarded himself
appointed champion of the independence and reforma-
the church. He foresaw that the general hatred
secution, not only of the princes, but even of a great
the clergy, might be his only reward; and several
intimations to this effect are found in his confidential
Many historians have even remarked that he would
have escaped a violent end, if he had not died at the
oment a natural death.

little a merely selfish state-policy lay at the bottom
unhappy contest between the head of the church and
peror, is strikingly exemplified by the proposal of a
pe. He proposed, namely, that if the emperor in-
nexorably on the feudal dependence of bishops and
stics, he should rather take back their lands and
them for himself. If the emperors could or would
reed to this offer, their power might have been easily
l or trebled, and it would have been the readiest
of restoring peace. That the proposal was not meant
est, I cannot convince myself, because under certain
ons it might have been practicable, and the pope as
the emperor, if they had been reconciled on those
would have each been the gainer thereby. The dis-
r priority between the two powers was on the whole
cilable, since both parties were in the right. Popes had

often been chosen by the influence of the emperors, and had the popes adjudged and decided on whom the im dignity was to devolve ; yet neither had ever been reco by the respective parties as a right of the other. The of a formal recognition, and the confirmation it involv the emperors by the popes, and of the popes by th perors, was confirmed by so many precedents, that it w a matter of doubt. No injurious consequences would from it as long as concord existed between the two p Whenever an emperor refused to recognise a pope, or an emperor, such refusal occurred in cases only in whi nature of the matter itself, the notorious invalidity election, and the voice of the nation and the churc already pronounced a decision. But now that the un dispute had once commenced, who was to heal it, decide, who should be judge between the holy fathe head of the church, the mouthpiece and the umpire European republic, and the emperor, who as the first kings, as the recognised lord paramount of many of th the protector of all Christendom, and the universal de of justice and freedom, personified the highest earth thority? The contest could scarcely have had any othe than what it actually had ; both parties were forced to within narrower limits. The pope remained little mor spiritual head of the church; the emperor merely th and greatest king. Both lost by the contest the great of that influence in the European republic, which ha so beneficial to the common weal, and to the cause c lization, and which might have become much more so sequel. Thus, neither Rome nor the empire were any the central point of Europe, as it was their mission to b did they retain even that degree of influence which for they had possessed. It was now, when a fully org confederacy of states could no longer be established the Christian nations of Europe, that a third institutio and was developed, which served as a new and very be link to bind them together, at least by common pri customs, and sentiments of honour, affection, and ment.

With the Papacy and the imperial dignity, chival stituted the third power of the middle age, and that po

ly national, but universal and European. The germ even in the primitive Germanic constitution; its deve- was especially promoted by the crusades. To form dea of the mode of life in the middle age, we must enter into the spirit of chivalry. But even in the f the political constitution it creates an epoch, as a very remarkable form of nobility; for as the nobi- e first of the fundamental powers of the state, each it may assume involves a change in the constitu- new epoch in its development. After the old Ger- rtial and popular nobility had passed into a feudal sterial aristocracy, this new form of nobility, chivalry, to this institution a far higher, nobler, and holier d significance, which will indeed always remain one st pleasing phenomena in the history of the world. evelopment of chivalry and the history of the cru- re much influenced by the romantic spirit of the . Their history connects the two great European the middle age: the first northern migrations, and des. On the coasts of France, where they conquered eliest and most fertile province of the whole coun- ch still bears their name, and then in England, d Sicily, and finally in Asia, they were the last emigrants, who settled by force of arms in southern Their conquest of England was accompanied by an ion of the conquering nation; and hence was the universal change in its language, manners, and con- and the origin of the long connection and the long that subsisted between England and France in the ge. Together with Christianity, the first Norman rs in France soon adopted the new Romanic, or as already be called, French language; but in mind ners they retained their individuality throughout the the middle age, so that at that time Normans and even when speaking the same language, must be by s regarded as one, but as two very distinct nations. rmans were chiefly characterized by the romantic m of mind, which displays itself even in the character conquests. Their love of poetry and their romantic mind they may have brought with them from their ern homes. This spirit they certainly did not first

acquire in France; rather through them did the g
chivalry become prevalent in France in particular, as
in Europe in general. Bold mariners as they first a
they ever retained that love of adventure, which spurr
on to distant enterprises and conquests, which, to th
cool calculation, might perhaps have appeared impra
They thus succeeded in establishing themselves in the
and most lovely regions of Italy, in Naples and Sicil
they were at first favoured by the emperors as a
class of landowners, capable of offering resistance
Greeks and Saracens. They afterwards became the fe
of the pope. Dependency on the latter was not so
to them as on a powerful emperor. To the Roman
brought this advantage, that a large military state
was henceforward devoted to it, and hostile to
ponderating influence of the emperors, until this
kingdom of Naples and Sicily devolved by marriag
imperial house of Suabia. This event, by the th
and now apparently imminent danger of the total su
of Italy, inflamed and exasperated still more the co
the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

From their daring character and love of adven
Normans were especially adapted and called on to
in the crusades. Thus their history connects t
northern migrations and the crusades, and forms the
and link between them. The result of the crusad
have been more fortunate, if they had from the first
more the character of a migration, if the first conq
been followed up by a permanent and suitably
colonization. To form a correct judgment of this gr
prise, we must not forget that at that time, before t
cism of the Mahometans had been mitigated by a l
course with Europeans, one universal, uninterrup
of warfare subsisted, and necessarily so, between
and Mahometan peoples and states. Had some
colonies been not only founded, but successfully m
in western Asia, this would have been the best bu
Europe against the East. It would then never
possible for the Turks to establish an empire in
conquer or ravage so many flourishing Christian
especially Hungary and Austria, and to strike te

y and Germany. But to introduce a European
on once more into western Asia, as was before
shed by the Greeks, it would have been necessary to
ther countries upon the coast, and not to direct
, as happened at first, exclusively to Jerusalem.
ll, from the very beginning, the Greek empire,
uble policy was the chief cause of misfortune, should
n drawn into the system of European nations and
When the Latin empire was afterwards established
antinople, this was already too late.
t was a necessity for Europe, with its growing popu-
disburden itself of a portion of it, is evident from
y of this whole period. Besides the causes above
want of unity must it be attributed that such
forces were ill applied, were for the most part
nd turned to mutual destruction. But if permanent
colonies did not flourish in Asia as in after-times in
still both the beneficial and the injurious influence of
des upon the civilization, morals, and constitution
e was not less considerable than that, which India
erica have exercised in modern times, and which
perceptible.

LECTURE VIII.

ON THE CRUSADES.

description of pilgrimages to the promised land, we
at it was at first chiefly enthusiastic devotion that led
pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre; many afterwards
these undertakings from a desire of encountering rare
es, and for the sake of boasting of their achievements
y had happily returned home; and others again, more
minded, began to traffic in the treasures they brought
n the East, and many individuals, tempted by these
ere drawn into the enterprise. And thus also did it
n the whole with those great armed pilgrimages, the
, according to their different epochs, and according to
distinguished characters that took part in them.

The first expedition under the pious Godfrey de Bo
wholly the work of enthusiasm and devotion; hene
gies were the most irresistible, and it was crov
success. In the succeeding periods, and especia
heroic struggle between the lion-hearted Richar
chivalrous Saladin, the original object was already
sight of; and the romantic spirit evinced in the ques
glory and adventure became the moving spring of a

Afterwards, when the Crusaders acted more syst
when the Grecian empire was latinized, and it wa
that to maintain Palestine in safety, Egypt mu
won; when in St. Louis the flame of holy enthu
more broke forth, then was that first genuine ener
extinguished, which alone was competent to accom
prises so vast and so wholly new, whose success wa
bable according to the ordinary course of things
verged on the impossible. At last it was only th
powers of Italy, and especially the great commer
Venice, that preserved for any length of time a
possessions so painfully acquired, and obtained an
able advantage. How often is such the course
events! A great idea, a powerful sentiment, seizes o
and suddenly carries whole generations, as it does
men, far beyond all the limits of custom, yea, over
and apparently the most insurmountable obstacles.
the object is attained, however, and when desire
gratified grows cool in the possession of it; whe
itself is forgotten in the efforts to attain it, then
mind will still delight in the feeling of its own a
sport with danger, and squander noble energies
last those powers prey upon themselves, and then
use of outward success, for the sake of immediat
gain, is gradually substituted,—an immediate pro
often deceives the calculator's hasty glance and t
loss.

Among the multitude of extraordinary character
that the history of this time presents, not one perha
adapted to display the full force of the chivalrous
prevailing, and to show how even the king was
the knight, as the character of King Richard Co
His heroic deeds bordering on the marvellous,

mewards, his imprisonment, and misfortunes, which not tame his lion-like courage, interest our sym- although, as we may easily suppose, a life so chi- nd stormy was but ill adapted to a careful and syste- vernment of his kingdom. Characters like this, or e Godfrey's, and other chivalrous heroes of the inspired by devotion, are fitter to be grasped by a ancy, and to be set forth to contemporaries and to in fascinating pictures, than to be unveiled and by the critical eye of a Tacitus. The characters and the middle age are mainly distinguished from those ity by their whole life, and all their actions, being d ruled by the imagination, or by some great idea, an by any systematic plan of the understanding. r the Great alone is in this respect an exception from celebrated Greeks and Romans, and bears a greater nce, as do likewise most Oriental heroes, to those of le age, inasmuch as fancy and enthusiasm predomi- nem rather than a calculating understanding. Hence eriod, in all struggles, perils, and tumults, that fulness hich breathes from and overflows everything—that low of fancy that embellishes even sufferings.

the old northern saga, the beatified heroes of the delighted in combats during the day; but, when g the sun began to sink, were healed of their stricken y magic power, became reconciled to each other, and ner in friendly union at the festal banquet; so, also, lrous combats of that romantic period had often no result of any political importance; and an heroic life, idst all the adventures of Europe and the East, often ng at its close but a sense of repose, as in the evening lay a feeling of touching reminiscences and of gentle ation in still and holy retirement. In inward feeling, such an heroic life was undoubtedly richer than the f-fact life of those men of the understanding, who, in ry of states, often merely by the position they occupy, espite of their moral inanity, strongly influence the hinery of human affairs, and contribute more to its l working than they themselves know or feel.

pirit of chivalry, however, formed only one epoch, one e middle age; and if on the whole, in characters and

in manners, the predominant sway of fancy, the omni
of certain great ideas, is very striking, yet it would b
to deny its great lawgivers to this period. Alfred,
England; Stephen, king of Hungary, the great civ
his people; and St. Louis of France, would be alone s
to refute such an opinion. Of the German kings and e
we should have to name many, if we would disting
who were not merely valiant warriors, but reflecting
whose glance surveyed the whole field of action—w
not merely monarchs of powerful will, but the rulin
of their age—who well knew and weighed the
strength of states. The most celebrated Germa
especially distinguished by a severe, earnest, an
energy; of this energy and loftiness of character in th
age, the contest between the emperor Frederick the
Henry the Lion affords a fine example and picture.
that powerful emperor, who had a true reverence fo
but was severe even to cruelty in exacting his rights
enraged with Henry, his old friend, deserting hi
arduous Italian wars, that he could not rest till, in
pestuous might, he had overthrown that great hero, a
self the most potent prince of the age, and had shatt
destroyed his power; yet, when he saw him at his
was nevertheless overcome with the deepest emotio
count of his old friend and brother in arms. It was
heroic feelings like these, which at that time, and e
among the Germans, held greater sway than the co
lations of the understanding. The Italian characte
middle age, on the other hand, in their early republi
and in their predilection for a stern and often cruel po
a greater resemblance to the heroes of antiquity. Th
spirit of chivalry was in no European nation at tha
exclusively predominant as among the Normans.
spirit and manners, too, were in that Norman period
to France and England, as those two states were in
ways connected and united by Normandy.

The want of unity, which was the principal cau
failure of the Crusades, is not to be referred to the
plans and enterprises of individual leaders only.
great dissimilarity in mind and character,—in the
position, and in the separate interests of particula

n obstacle to concord. The Spaniards were too much
t home in their contest with the Arabs to take any
share in the Crusades; and, on account of their re-
the same may be said of the nations in the extreme
Northern Italy and Germany, the imperial state,
tterly absorbed and agitated by the great schism
he church and the empire, so entirely engaged in
provinces and states, great and small, by the feud
he Guelphs and Ghibellines, that although they
in the Crusades with great energy indeed, when
had commenced so to do, yet it was only after
rs, and almost unwillingly. Never at least did
v so readily the general stream and current of the
e Norman nation in England, in the Norman pro-
France, and in Naples, or as the French, who
ated with the like spirit. All these kindred na-
powerful by their numerous population and martial
ere then concerned about no other great object,
therefore more susceptible of enthusiasm for this
They were, perhaps, even sufficiently strong to
nplished the undertaking alone; and it would then
asily have obtained full success, and been attended
g results.

at German Crusades under the emperors Conrad
and Frederick the First were, from the effects of
l the treachery of the Greeks, the most unfortunate
rederick the Second was content and even happy
have only brought about a peace, though certainly
vantageous one, and hastened home to his favourite
he head of the church, and the maritime states of
indeed alone any fixed plan in the conduct of
ditions, and any true interest in their permanent
ough both of course with very different views.
is not to be wondered at, that they were unable
direct suitably and in just combination the irregular
mposed of so many diverse nations of the con-
Christians; and, on the contrary, it must excite
hment, that the European dominion in Asia lasted
g as it did.

the effects of the Crusades, the most striking was
ning and the giving a higher life to the spirit of

chivalry. The principles of honour, it is true, the
of arms, and the whole code of knightly maxims a
ners, were long before brought into established forms
in gradations, and connected with certain outward cer
and thereby the peculiar system of chivalry alrea
tuted. This received its highest development, how
the military orders, when the knight, devoted by
vow to the great business of all Christendom, fel
free from feudal dependence, and even exalted a
restraints of nationality, as the immediate warrior a
of God and of universal Christendom. The thr
military orders, for which Europe is indebted to the
to the Crusades, are the science and model of all oth
of knighthood. They are the knights of St. Jo
even to the latest times have preserved the original
chivalry in their persevering struggle with the Maho
the Teutonic knights, who in Prussia founded
powerful and flourishing German colony on the Ba
the order of Templars, which after a brief enjo
great power, was annihilated in so cruel a manne
rapacity of the French king. In respect to any
which the East may have exercised upon ideas in
this last was indisputably the most remarkable of
orders. In France, where also the first bloody relig
in Europe, that against the heretical Albigenses,
carried on, and in precisely those districts in whic
the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, the Camisarde
cuted for their religion, were driven to despair, an
exterminated after an obstinate struggle; in France
curred the cruel persecution of the order of the Templa
ruin, terminating in the execution of the last grand
De Molay, so venerated for his virtues, neither the
the pope, who had yielded to him, long survived.
ideas were that prevailed in the order, what portion
object was not publicly known, could not be brought
in a proceeding like this, so unjust in its very form
most this, that there were secrets in the order, was sh
not with any distinctness what those secrets were.
was exterminated in France only; in other coun
though the sentence of dissolution pronounced by
was carried into effect, yet it was done with forb

the Templars were incorporated with other newly
ed military orders, and to these their property was
ed. The spirit of the order was not extinguished;
and worked on in silence; and brief as was the
filled a place in history, it may yet be numbered
ne most remarkable phenomena of the world.
to the influence which the further development of
exercised upon the constitution of Europe, the effect
Crusades upon commerce, its extension, and direction,
the most visible and striking. As the latter tended
nd increase the power of the cities and of the class of
s, so did it also tend to develop and vivify anew
Yet was this influence limited to the powerful
imparted to the mind of Europeans by this ex-
ry event, and to the increased wealth of the cities
able to the fine arts. The supposition, that in their
poetry and attempts at art, the European nations
m eastern sources, and worked on eastern models,
sappears wholly on closer investigation, or at least is
o have but a slight degree of truth. Their poetry
wed how much the fancy of the western nations was
d excited by so many new objects beheld in the light
siasm, and by so many bold adventurers accomplished.
period belongs that chivalrous poetry, which flourished
he Normans and the Germans in the twelfth and
h centuries, and which, in the beautiful diction and
narration of an Ariosto and a Tasso, has since
the property of all civilized Europe. Even in the
gian period the Germans had their heroic poems
-songs, and the marvellous, so characteristic of the
is poems, can the less have been borrowed from the
it already existed in the older northern sagas. It was
esh impulse that fancy received from the Crusades, the
oic songs became gradually forgotten, or were adapted
new taste. The chivalrous poetry was the faithful
the chivalrous life and its unfailing companion, and
on that account is it for us the clearest mirror for
the manners of those ages, and furnishes the best
ion of its history. The soaring spirit of the order of
s, which had grown great and powerful by commerce
industrial arts, was exhibited on the other hand in the

proud structures, which wealthy cities were at tha
emulous to erect, and which by their boldness excite
day our admiration and astonishment.

The latter art was developed immediately after poetry
flourished in this age. The connection with the Greek
which existed in the elder Carlovingian period, and more
cularly in the times of the Saxon emperors, led to an ac
ance with the Byzantine architecture, and an imitation o
this Byzantine architecture Germany, as well as Italy, p
some remarkable monuments. But now in German
still more in the Low Countries and in England, in cons
of this new impulse of mind, there arose also a total
order of architecture—the Gothic, as it is commonly
Besides the above-named countries, Italy also can
the cathedral of Milan, erected by German artists,
monument of this style, together with the colossal g
in the total impression. This Gothic architecture is
terized by an artistic fulness of detail; and precis
characteristic it is, that renders it not only one of t
remarkable phenomena in the history of art, but at t
time a living monument of the middle age, and a n
the sentiments then prevailing. Entirely from the
mind has this peculiar Gothic, or rather old German
architecture, sprung. The supposition, that it is of Arabi
is the more unfounded, as several buildings in Portu
in Sicily, which are really designed in a semi-Mooris
display a style and character essentially different f
Gothic. This ecclesiastical architecture was next su
by painting, more immediately designed for the deco
churches. The sight of the magnificent Greek c
enriched with pictures, may have first given new life
art, and therefore the oldest Italian and Flemish-
paintings bear a strong resemblance to the Byzantine.
and peculiar style, however, was in both countries qui
veloped in painting, and produced splendid maste
worthy of eternal admiration.

Any really new acquisitions in learning and scie
which the Europeans were indebted to the Arabs,
limited to a certain degree of knowledge in chemistr
cine, and astronomy, and to an acquaintance with
writings of Aristotle by the medium of a very cor

intelligible translation, which it can scarcely be
d was any very great gain for the intellectual cul-
he West. Those Mahomedans, moreover, who at
occupied Palestine, and with whom the Christians
e immediately in contact, were a barbarous people.
ishing times of the caliphat had long since passed
The Arabs in Spain were more civilized, but the
and religious hatred between the Christians and
too great, to allow them to have much influence on
ctual cultivation of the Spaniards.

hole epoch, in which Christians and Mahomedans
multiplied relations with each other, in which East
t, after a long separation, again for the first time
n each other, naturally leads our attention to the
se spirit, for twelve centuries, has been the spirit of
and who has been its invisible ruler. Mahomet
xcites among the unprejudiced all that admiration,
roic energy and enthusiasm must ever excite, when
n strictest union towards a single object, when the
is withal single-minded, to all appearance substan-
from arts of deception and delusion, and his acts
ed upon steadfast conviction and immoveable faith
. The people, who were his instrument, and who
rough him the mightiest people on the face of the
en before Mahomet's time, living in old hereditary
combining the glory of arms with love for soul-
oetry, not wholly unacquainted with the oldest legends
red primitive world, and thereby withal attuned to
y sentiment, that people must be called a noble and a
led race. After the new impulse which the Arab
ceived from Mahomet, their sway soon extended
nost magnificent regions of the earth, from the spice-
India to Portugal, and from the Caucasus to the heart
Mahomet's doctrine, founded upon the highest and
nceptions of the Godhead, without troubling the rea-
incomprehensible mysteries, inculcating, above all
agnanimity, generosity, and inflexible heroic courage,
ot devoid of fascinating charms for the fancy and the
faith like this, which has so long ruled the world, how
ail from all sides to seize on and enchain mankind?
ous and fatal schism between Church and State, which

divided and distracted Christendom, had no place
homet's empire, for in it the two were wholly blended i
Mahomet's doctrinal system may also boast of bei
adapted to mankind, and of being practicable; for it h
realized. Mahomet's ideas have been really carried
his peculiar spirit has become that of half Asia and
while in Christianity, on the other hand, in which
and manners of individuals, as well as of whole nati
entire generations, often stand in surprising and cryin
sition to the spirit and the doctrines of its found
imperfect approximation to an ideal unattainable
gives to the whole system the appearance of an exp
only half successful. It is scarcely to be wondered
vulgar philosophy should give a manifest preference
religious system over Christianity. Very differentl
ever, from this shallow philosophy, has history deci
iong since decided, on the respective influence, wh
Christian and Mahometan religions have exerted on
tion and the refinement of the human mind. The
pride and arrogance which, with all its praiseworth
ties, Mahomet's religious system breathes, and whi
trasts so strikingly with the love and humility incul
the Christian faith,—this it is that has rendered i
on the world so fatal, and by which the germ of d
implanted from the very beginning in Islam. Thro
arrogance, more inflexible than that of Stoicism, fou
it is, upon a belief in the true God,—through this v
gance, the effect of which is the more deadly, t
plausible, and fanatically confiding that belief is, the
Mahomet's disciples, after the first burst of enthusia
became stationary; till at last, even among high-mi
tions, it has hardened down into a dull insensibility.

That temptation whereof the Scripture speaks, th
tive offer by which the Founder of Christianity w
that the kingdoms of the earth should be his, if he w
worship the spirit of bloodthirstiness, of arrogance
self-will,—this temptation Mahomet was unable to w
Had he withstood it, had the high-souled Arabs
Christianity with all that fiery enthusiasm wherew
adopted the creed of Mahomet,—then would the
regions of the globe have probably become also the

nost civilized; then, instead of destructive wars,
he world, and dividing the minds of men, or of
angement, Europe and Asia had been united in the
ous concord. But the spirit of pride, and the very
hurch and State in Islam, laid the foundation of a
which, grasping all spiritual and temporal power
hand, has cramped within its fetters not only all
eedom, but the liberty of the mind itself also.
tance with a religious system so utterly opposed to
g faith, had incomparably greater and more im-
sequences upon the tone of thought and the philo-
ne West, than a few corrupt translations of Aris-
ings. The unbelief and contempt for religion, of
emperor Frederick the Second was accused, finds,
cumstances noticeable at this time, a certain degree
tion. With the chemical, medical, and astronomical
derived by the Europeans from the Arabs, an
for astrological superstition, for alchemy and
s, was very generally propagated. The secrets and
trines of the Templars might also furnish another
totally new views of a great inward fermentation
pean mind. In philosophy the effect was the most
the most striking. Even in the twelfth century,
ntury after the first Crusades, we see in Arnold of
first effort made to convulse all Christendom by the
ilosophy, and to overthrow the existing Christian
of Church and State. Arnold met the fate, that
et, who attempt a premature revolution, and fail.
rity of his intention is not to be mistaken, and the
nd more enthusiastic tone of philosophy from which
places him far above later antagonists of the church,
nore fortunate than he. Without exercising such
influence on the world, many others propounded
es and systems that were in part dangerous and
is to religion. This current of opinion was stem-
e faith upheld by a German of great intellectual
ertus Magnus, one of those rare spirits, who from
we see concentrate in themselves all the learning
even attainable in their age, as Aristotle did in
uld be an error to believe that philosophy holds no
history of the world. Even among the Greeks

and Roman, with whom it was so utterly separated fr
life, philosophy sufficiently evinced its powerful influen

Precisely in that separation and opposition of the
to the state, and to the prevalent popular belief in all th
of antiquity, lay the true cause of their downfal. In
history, from the time of the middle age, philosophy
wider extension transformed into public opinion, has
itself still more clearly to be a power capable of movi
world, either beneficently upholding or violently con
it. Like every great movement, the Crusades also di
many old bonds, and furthered the cause of freedom; a
where there was a predisposition to it, that of anarch
The confusion prevailing in Italy and Germany in th
teenth century, especially in the latter part of it, was
diately, indeed, occasioned by the destructive contest
the church and the empire, by the mutual antagonism
two highest powers in Christendom, and therefore ca
ascribed to the Crusades. Yet the universal agitat
anarchy were by those expeditions accelerated and in
Even the long absence from Germany of the last gr
withal highly intellectual emperor Frederick the Seco
the germs in that country for this very state of confusi
reached its highest point, after the house of Hohenstau
a whole century the mightiest in Europe, had, in the
of its last descendant, perished frightfully on the scaffo
when, from doubtful, unregarded, or repudiated royal el
it became a matter of uncertainty whether Germany
world really had still a legitimate emperor. What a p
rhetorical exaggeration had sung on the death of an
emperor might now have been said with reason, "t
happy and beheaded Europe wept."

Were the two supreme powers in Christendom com
the heavenly bodies that rule the day and the night,
now be said that the heavens were darkened, and tha
pope and the emperor that sun and moon which illu
all eyes and guided all steps were extinguished. But
rous courage yet beat in honest hearts, and it was
knight that the eyes of the world were turned to sumn
to the rescue. Great by his valour and his fortune, b
martial and knightly virtue, by a vigorous and compre
understanding, Rodolph of Hapsburg was greater stil
love of justice.

ed in raising again the law that had been trampled
he was himself judge, himself the protector and
justice; the first, moreover, who, less by the power
rious sword than by the mild sway of justice, reno-
any, and at the same time founded a mighty empire,
s of which from this time forth we see assume one
important places in the history of the world.

LECTURES IX. & X.

HISTORY OF THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD AND DE-ENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL EUROPEAN NATIONS.

piness, the glory, and the grandeur of an age
exclusively on the abundance of those resources and
, which are subservient to the ends of civilization,
dorn life, but principally upon the use made of
ces by the mind, upon the spirit thereby infused
and on the object those energies are directed
ich are noble and great only when the use of
ch. To look merely at this abundance of re-
own age, enriched by the heritage of all pre-
uries, would appear, when compared with them,
ay, the only one worthy of notice. We should
ut to close the book of history, convinced before-
nothing could ever be found comparable for a
our own high degree of civilization. But if such
e would deprive our age of its very noblest and
ilege,—the privilege, by the aid of all the re-
now possess, of ascertaining, better than in earlier
possible, the spirit and the destinies of all past
—if we honour Homer and Sophocles as great
ough they knew not that the earth was round,
tance of the sun and moon from the earth; if we
strength of soul and the political wisdom of a
onidas, and the Scipios, although they and their age
uainted with many inventions and arts, which have
bitual and necessary to us, and even ignorant of
any schoolboy can now repeat; if, in fine, however
cular facts, or institutions and customs of antiquity

may be repugnant to reason, and to our moral sense not, on that account, at once and without examinati demn the whole with all its vast intellectual pow grandeur,—if we do this, why, it may be asked, not the same justice in our judgments upon the midd The civilization also of antiquity was not unive unlimited; founded on the knowledge of all times parts of the earth; collected from every clime; artif learned; no, it was a natural civilization pregnant v proceeding from the very spirit of the people and th precisely similar to the culture of the mediæval period surpassing antiquity in many respects, rivalling it i or little inferior to it, was no less peculiar than it, in of the whole. It is to be especially observed, wha different times are confounded together in the reproa are generally heaped on the middle ages. The medi whatever estimate may be assigned to it, embraces thousand years, or even more, and consists of sever distinctly separated from one another.

In the first period of the middle age, that of Char and his immediate successors, and of the earlier Ger perors, down to the time of Pope Gregory the Sev the great convulsive movements of the Crusades, manners were mild, the character of the age was g simple, earnest but withal gentle. The writings, t of art, and in general, all the monuments of the pe this stamp. It was undoubtedly an age not alto ignorant and uncivilized as it is often portrayed. middle age, however, as in antiquity, the era of the f of states and nations, the era of legislation preceded arts and of general refinement, which are but too companied by relaxation of morals and a disorgan the state. The second period of the middle age—t Crusades—is characterized by a marvellous daring, enthusiasm, and universal enterprise in real life, as the domain of fancy. The third period, which ext Rodolph the First to Maximilian, may, as regards th manners and the constitution, be called turbulent. Of however, and defective civilization, it is scarce accuse an age, wherein the Mediterranean was co ships as richly laden, and its coasts by commercia prosperous and powerful as in the most flourishing

and such was the case not in the Mediterranean only, ise in the Baltic Sea, to the ancients a north almost and an object of dread ;—an age wherein architecture h a new flight, and painting attained such high and unparalleled development and perfection ;—an age philosophy, almost too widely cultivated, became an tate and of practical life, wherein all the historical and knowledge, which was at that time by any channels , was pursued with passionate eagerness and desire, ural science and mathematics were investigated and ith untiring energy, until at last the two grand dis- by which the mind of man first attained its majority, very of the new hemisphere and planetary motions, the true magnitude of the heavens and earth, crowned rch and labour of centuries.

ignorance, then, is the era of the fourteenth and centuries to be accused ; but rather of those moral and crimes, which are but too often wont to follow in of commerce and of all higher intellectual refinement. er, a certain lawlessness in the manners and a certain and cruelty in many of the laws and institutions of od cannot be denied, yet it is equally undeniable that ganization in the moral relations was not the result of leness and apathy, but that in the midst of this tur- reat moral energy was still evinced.

noral energy was most apparent in the still active chivalry—a spirit which had become predominant, mong the class of princes and nobles, yet had assumed fferent form among the different nations of Europe. it best retained its original religious tendency. The old martial adventures predominated in England and ly, in France and Burgundy, countries which were per'od still closely connected by their manners and ations. In Germany, when the ancient bonds with the ad been severed, the spirit of chivalry took more of a direction, and strove by courage and valour to istice, and to regenerate the country. Not only in societies and fraternities, at once chivalrous and was this tendency evinced, but in the very history erman kings and emperors at that epoch ; on account ightly virtues was Rodolph of Hapsburg raised to l dignity, and called by the universal voice to be

the deliverer of a suffering age. His was an election
whole nation, in substance at least, if not in form, as
old the election of Conrad the First, whereby he beca
of the Germans, and the founder of the empire.
subsequent elections, moreover, the same universal ve
for knightly virtue was exhibited. Of Rodolph's unha
noble-minded successor, Adolph of Nassau, it might a
been said, when he fell in battle against Albert,
noblest hero of Germany had fallen. Adorned
knightly virtues, Henry of Luxemburg was esteemed
in Germany as in Italy, the flower of the nobili
Rodolph, he succeeded by the rich acquisition of Boh
founding the greatness of his house; and the world
see him resemble Rodolph in intellectual energies a
giver and reformer, when a premature death snatched
its hopes. How simple was the life of the great R
Before his elevation, he gave many noble and touchin
that he was well worthy of the imperial dignity; his
courage, his integrity, and true piety, seemed so ma
nostications as it were of his future greatness. A
empire was committed to his charge, he devoted him
clusively to the task of watching over the administ
justice, and of restoring the empire. Like so man
old emperors, inheriting no very extensive family d
he, nevertheless, ruled as a powerful prince with
hand, solely by his individual energy, by his perso
racter, and the reverence he inspired. Rodolph's
is shown in the clearest light during the great con
the mighty Ottacar—a spectacle such as history
seldom displayed. On the one side valour united t
ness and wisdom; on the other, courage heroic in
yet headstrong and imperious, coupled with cruel vic
blinded by pride. Fortune and victory sided for
virtue. The beautiful province of Austria had laps
empire as an escheated fief on the extinction of the
Babenberg during the troubles of the interregnum
to various claims equally untenable, it had been
more than any part of Germany, until wrested
detested Ottacar by the victories of Rodolph. U
acquisition, with the concurrence of all the princ
empire, the latter founded the future power of
On the one side reigning over Austria, on the

d augmenting its ancient and extensive hereditary
in Suabia, Alsatia, and Switzerland, that house
d under its sway the loveliest regions of southern

not only the internal tranquillity and order, but the
lignity and grandeur also of the empire, that Ro-
ght to uphold. He was watchful to maintain its
ghts over Burgundy, a kingdom he had destined for
ed Hartmann, before the Rhine robbed him of his
son. A singularly inauspicious star indeed pre-
the destinies of the sons and grandsons of this great
so fortunate in his own life. According to old Ger-
m, a reign glorious as his would have given to his
almost irresistible claim to the succession. But
times had passed away, and if the sense of the
oved still so energetic, that none dared elect any
already ennobled by lofty virtues, nevertheless the
a powerful prince was carefully avoided. Herein
rs were already clearly evinced by the German
they preferred to sever themselves from the great
he state, and thereby augment their own power
eble emperor, than to undertake the arduous duties
perial dignity themselves. Another injurious in-
splayed itself likewise in these imperial elections.
centuries had it been a subject of bloody feud,
he papal power possessed the right of recognising
ming an election, which gave not only to the Ger-
ng, but to all Christendom a temporal head, and now
hop of Mayence boasted that he could himself instal
e the German kings at pleasure! In addition to
kings of France were constantly aiming at the
rown, and employed their influence over the popes
ent at Avignon to excite factions in Germany. This
of the princes, and these factions, were the cause
great Rodolph's desire to secure the imperial
hich he had worn himself with so much glory to his
s not accomplished until a later period. Albert's
have been soured and embittered by the refusal to
him the expected crown. And when he had at last
was only by war and his rival's death that he
in fixing it firmly on his brow, but only to be
t once of a crown and life by the murderous lance

of his own nephew, a youth blinded by anger and
The emperor Albert was not so mild and magnan
Rodolph, yet we cannot deny that, with all his stern
severity, in his reverence for justice he equalled hi
To blame him exclusively for the events that occ
Switzerland, to paint him as the cruellest of tyrants,
that the picture of Swiss enfranchisement may mak
vivid impression, were to judge, as often happens, a
consequences, rather than the real facts, and the spir
parties in connection with the circumstances of the tin
Albert, not any individual prince or sovereign, but t
nobility of the period, are open to the reproach of ha
dered their sway more oppressive and tyrannical th
originally meant to be, and than in earlier time
actually been. Even if in their first struggles for
the warlike mountaineers sought only to restrain
cesses, yet in their later enterprises it can scarcely
tained, that they always observed moderation, or th
was always on their side. For Germany Albert's
indisputably a great loss: even a stern emperor would
preferable to the subsequent party contests. The
hopes which the chivalrous Henry of Luxemburg ha
were immediately extinguished by his premature dea
rival claims of the houses of Luxemburg and Au
Bohemia, engendered an unhappy discord between
occasioned a double election. Simultaneously with
the Fair, the third emperor of the line of Hapsbu
the Bavarian was, by the influence of the house of
Luxemburg, called to the throne.

The history of the long reign of the latter is r
only for his struggle with Frederick the Fair, by
of the vehement contest with the Church, and by
mentation of his hereditary domains through the a
not altogether legitimate, of Brandenburg, the Tyrol
land. He was not animated with the chivalrous sp
we remark in the other emperors of that age, wher
all the sovereign houses, not one was so distinguis
Austrian. Who is ignorant how, after long w
battle threw Frederick the Fair into the hands of
how by him he was treated with great severity,
to purchase his freedom by a most disadvantage
how he was prevented by the angry violence of

ıbitious brother, Leopold, from fulfilling the terms of
mpact, and then, unlike King Francis the First in
imes, true to his honour and his plighted word, he
lered himself once more as a prisoner to his foe?
like these in the ancestral chronicles of kings are indeed
rightest ornaments, and badges of genuine honour.
the heart of Lewis the Bavarian was moved by it,
h not for any length of time.

the self-devotion of the high-minded Frederick gave
ce to Germany. Bavaria and Bohemia, under the
Luxemburg princes, attended to their own interests
rely, and hence were disunited. Both aimed at the
l crown, but only sought upon that imperial dignity
ıd the glory and the greatness of their own house.
despite their rivalry, their system of government was
nilar, and their disjoined dominion of brief duration.
ınces of Rodolph's line sought a more exalted sphere
y; and hence Austria, after many and deep misfor-
ıgain rose more glorious than ever.

great parties of Church and Emperor, of Guelphs and
ines, which once divided Germany, had now ceased
; so had likewise the old German national races, the
ns, Franks, Saxons, and Bavarians, by whom the king
nt to be elected. Amid the general disorganization,
ere only the princely houses of Bohemia, Bavaria, and
; that appear as if they were so many parties. The
ı between the Bohemian and Bavarian parties was
dly kept up by France. If the long reign of Charles
ırth restored a certain kind of peace and tranquillity
German empire, yet his system of government is by
ns what it ought to have been, nor does it merit the
that has been often lavished on his work, because it
onded with the views of the more powerful princes.
nstitution that Charles the Fourth conferred on Ger-
was by no means a restoration of the ancient national
ı and royal dignity. For that object it would have
bove all, necessary to reestablish the old national duchies
bia and Franconia; a restoration which the Austrian
rs, whose principles with regard to the constitution of
pire differed widely from those of the Bavarian and
ian princes, more than once attempted. Notwith-
g the sacred number seven, which was fixed upon for

the number of the electors, the golden bull was on the v
arbitrarily drawn up, with a view to promote certain colla
interests of the time.

It was a work without internal unity, whereby,
after-times by the treaty of Westphalia, the great evi
the state, far from being radically healed, were only
dered painfully endurable, and thereby even perpetu
By elevating a few powerful princes to so great a deg
power, and by rendering them almost independent, the
peror surrendered his noblest privilege, that of being
protector of the general freedom, and himself laid the fo
tion for those internal partitions and subdivisions of
many, which, step by step, brought about the total de
of the imperial dignity.

Bohemia, however, under Charles the Fourth, attain
so high a degree of material prosperity, as well as of refin
in the arts and sciences, and in the cultivation of its na
language, as far to outstrip all other Sclavonic nations.
in the constitution he gave to the German empire, C
paid regard to its numerous Sclavonic inhabitants, a
special ordinances protected their rights, customs, an
guage, was only just: it was an individual praisew
trait in a work on the whole so imperfect. Although s
ing from German ancestors, Charles the Fourth, bo
bred as he was in Bohemia, had become wholly a Boh
As regards Germany, Maximilian was justified in
him the stepfather of the empire. He was the first
render Burgundy, in all, at least, but the empty nam
it was chiefly owing to him and to Lewis the Bavaria
the empire lost its ancient authority in Italy. Char
Fourth possessed none of those chivalrous virtues, th
made his ancestor Henry the pride and joy of the G
nation, and which had acquired for King John suc
renown throughout all European countries. By qual
another kind, by unwearied activity, by knowledg
prudence, his reign was really beneficial and glor
Bohemia, and even apparently so for Germany, u
evil effects were developed in the course of history.
lower depth, however, than under his son, the depose
ceslaus, it was scarcely possible for the empire to sink

Thus the great work, begun by Rodolph's ener
regeneration, namely, of Germany, was not to be

n the times immediately subsequent to his; but a
interregnum and a long period of anarchy was
re to intervene, before his remote descendants Maxi-
nd Charles the Fifth should again raise the imperial
nd state to their pristine dignity.

noble spectacle presented to us by several remarkable
verful political associations, which in this very period
ganization were formed within the limits of the Ger-
pire, prove how vast were the energies that even still
in the body politic of Germany, notwithstanding its
ry perceptible political decay. Switzerland, the
ic league, and the principality of the Teutonic order
coasts of the Baltic, constitute these remarkable and
nt phenomena. In the earlier struggles of the Swiss,
e energies burst forth, which had, in earlier times, in
hern forests, withstood all the power of Rome. The
order of freemen, the real martial core of the nation,
n better preserved in these mountains than in the
l countries. It had been fortunate for the noble-
Swiss if they had remained in the same free con-
but under a mild protective sovereignty, and still
vith the empire. That the steadfast and daring en-
of a handful of men sufficed to found a league that
ured for centuries,—nay, to build up a nation and a
ill always excite admiration and sympathy. At first
ght only to put a stop to certain special grievances;
ir martial temper soon took a very different turn.
ecame assailants and conquerors; between the warlike
neers and the nobles and knights there arose a species
war, which often threatened to spread into other coun-
d even to include all Germany in its range. Far
han the noble energies which were wasted in this
, is the separation of Switzerland itself to be la-

The loss of Switzerland did not affect the house
sburg alone; it was the first great blow that fell,
on the empire merely, but upon Germany herself.
wiss too, with their internal civil wars, did not at
riod enjoy the tranquil prosperity, which different
elations have in after-times secured to them. Their
and warlike fame rose shortly to an extraordinary
but the influence which, as the hired soldiers of bel-
powers, they exercised in the affairs of Europe

during the fifteenth century, was neither conducive t
weal of the state nor worthy of the Swiss people.

The foundation of a new and powerful German st
the Baltic, Prussia namely, under the Teutonic order
still earlier settlements of those German colonies, which
formed Silesia, a country altogether Sclavonic, into a flo
ing German province ;—the impulse given by other G
colonists in Hungary and Transylvania to the art of r
and to civic refinement—all this furnishes proof of th
ternal strength, the populousness, and civilization of Ge
at that period.

A proof still stronger is supplied by the Hanseatic L
—that confederacy of German cities—which forms an
in commerce, whose power and influence, predominant
Baltic, soon stretched over the Scandinavian king
whose high civilization and municipal constitution n
paralleled with those of the commercial cities of Gree
Italy. If, indeed, in Germany no single city attained
vast power of Venice, when Venice chiefly held in her
the keys of oriental commerce with all Europe, y
Germany nevertheless, in manufactures and in mech
arts, even superior to Italy. Very remarkable was the
form of this league of German cities. Therein awo
in the Swiss Confederacy, the old federal spirit, tha
perceptible even in the very earliest Germanic insti
and manners, a certain predilection for voluntary allia
a means of general strength and safety.

Thus did each order—knights, burgesses, people—f
peculiar, new, and powerful state in Germany, althou
empire itself was falling gradually to pieces. Of these
Switzerland and the Hanse Towns in particular fill a
important place in the picture of the German mind, o
man power, and German civilization. And yet incomp
greater, through its extensive historical results, was tha
German federal state, which was built up by the chiv
virtues and unwavering principles of the noblest
princely houses—the composite state of Austria. A
of which Rodolph himself sketched the ground-plan, and
amidst all the misfortunes that often overtook indi
princes of that house in the interval between Rodol
Maximilian, was never lost sight of; and to whose f
construction many Austrian princes, who did not even

perial dignity, by their chivalrous spirit and valour,
by their wise laws, essentially contributed. But, in
ketch this picture in its full extent, we must first cast
at the condition of Europe in general; for, now that
nt relations were broken up, the several nations
h in a character more fully developed, and the dif-
ates exhibited a better consolidated power; and
the way prepared for the great epoch of Maximilian
les the Fifth.

ly two states only possessed an independent and
system of policy, to wit, Rome and Venice. The
nce of both rested on a secure basis. Venice, lying
the Greek empire and the west of Europe, had
ne greatest maritime power in the Mediterranean.
s the only question was, who should be her master;
e commerce flourished in the Mediterranean, the
n of Sicily with the south of Spain, after the blood
st Hohenstaufen had found an avenger in the king
on, was the most natural. The greatest political
ion, but withal the development of the noblest
al powers, occurred in the northern provinces that
ed originally to the empire, Milan and Florence.
er of the Visconti was great; still greater the
of the Medici upon the mind of Italy and of the
lized world. Poetry and architecture, painting and
ation of classical literature, received a noble impulse;
ugh the Roman see, by its dependency on France,
e subsequent disputed elections to the papacy, had
nuch of its authority and influence in Europe; yet
vertheless, after a new fashion, maintained her old
nce. Her literature and science were disseminated
ther nations, and thus constituted a universal bond
tion for all Europe. A bond of a nature perfectly
very beneficial, and which might have been much
had it not been dissolved by the schism in the
In this intellectual culture of Italy, especially as
assical literature, Germany more immediately par-
rmany which, before the discovery of the two
vided with Italy the commerce of Europe, and
r in all the arts.

nection generally between the two nations, by com-
vell as by the ties of ancient custom, was very close,

more especially in the northern parts of Italy, in Ven
Milan, where even the manners were more similar, a
national taste differed less from the German. The
reverence for the Imperial dignity, and the prescriptiv
of German power, long retained vitality. Even Dan
Petrarch turned their enthusiastic hopes towards the G
emperors, when the sovereignty of the latter in the
country was becoming every day more contracted
Machiavelli, indeed, was the first to point out to his c
men that the power of Germany, despite its apparent
was not in reality of the nature it was commonly supp
be, and was hurrying with rapid strides to its downfal

Beneficial as was the influence of Italian learning
rest of Europe, yet equally pernicious was the Italian
of politics, which first won access and obtained imit
France, and then gradually in most of the other European
From the prevailing discord and selfishness of all these
it speedily degenerated into a secret or open war of all
all. Florence and Milan were the centres of Italian po
all their complicated relations. In them anarchy be
petual change, in the vortex whereof even Venice and
and speedily Naples, Spain, and France, were hurrie
Even in Italy, although on a petty scale, the history
Visconti, the Medici, the Sforza, and of so many othe
lords and tyrants, shows how civil discord and sudde
lutions in ancient customs and social relations lead
and inevitably to absolute power. Within the same
but on a larger scale, we trace the rapid growth
authority in France, England, and even in Spain.
during the middle age, was far behind Italy and Ger
civilization and internal prosperity; and, even as reg
development of the spirit of chivalry, which was
country so predominant, the history of the Normans
the English, while they held possession of a large po
France, and the history of Burgundy, was far more
and brilliant than that of France herself. The most
circumstance in that country is the early establishmen
royal power; the cause whereof may perhaps be foun
very situation of the country and metropolis, as well
ancient institutions of the Frankish kings, to which
added the unceasing and undistracted efforts of the su

us. In the great contest between England and France, artial virtues and distinguished characters appeared side; but as exemplifying the chivalrous spirit and iers of the age, none are so remarkable as the Maid ns. This second foundress and deliverer of the throne met the fate which, among that nation, so eat characters have encountered, that of being at first ely deified, and subsequently as deeply depreciated. e envy and treachery of her own companions in arms doned the heroine to a fiery death. she was wholly ; and a certain period elapsed before the man. who kingdom to her alone, recollected the duty of vindi- r glory and fame. Even in modern times, the noblest l character, to which French history could point in ntic middle age, was only perverted into a subject of ion. An excellent German poet has been the first to once more the heroine of France; yet the historic es far superior to this poetic delineation. Joan bore l, as she did the banner at the head of her army, only ken of victory; she was quite incapable of any un- cruelty, or of shedding blood; and though more than herself was wounded, yet she never slew a foe, never lood; neither did any other earthly passion find into her heart, save love for her native country, for the nt of St. Louis, and for the lilies of France, to vin- nose honour she threw herself many a time into the battle, and at last perished in the flames.

the great contests with England had terminated ly for France,—thanks to this heroine and to Eng- ternal divisions,—we see despotism fully established nistrustful and cruel Lewis the Eleventh. Thus in e, after great political convulsions, authority is armed ubled force.

* * * * *

difficult accurately to seize upon the points wherein iar character of a nation consists, to select and define idual distinguishing traits. Often does the indivi- even appear to the observing mind a problem of olution; and in the vast theatre of history, with how us a variety is not human nature developed. Yet is isely the most attractive and instructive part of his-

tory; for each remarkable and significant national c
must we contemplate as a new and peculiar develop
the human mind, and as a variety in our own being. A
the whole character of a nation, with all its peculiariti
at the most be pointed out and unfolded only in a
narrative, and even then must often be rather felt t
fined, and can never be embodied in a few words of
definition; yet some general rules at least may be laid
as to the quarter to which our glance must be direct
conditions under which the principal traits of a nation
be looked for, and the great movements whereby its
velopment was occasioned. In this respect and in thi
we may say, that the character of all the great na
western Europe, which were included in the system
ized states in the fifteenth century, the Italians, name
the French, the English, and the Spaniards, is to be ac
for by two leading facts—by the peculiar form which t
Germanic migration assumed in each of these nations,
the influence, which the crusades and the institution of c
exercised over each particular state. So in later ti
may lay it down as a general rule, that the character
European nation, as well as its civilization, was moul
the influence which the Indian trade exercised upo
and by the special form which the Reformation assu
each country. Thus the Germanic migration and the c
taking as they did a peculiar form in each country,
erting a special influence on each people, thereby
the several characters of the European nations. It
the fusion of Goths and Arabs in order to mould the
mind. The ceaseless war waged for entire centuries aga
Moors, not merely in remote lands in quest of advent
of fame, but carried on in their very home and in de
their country and their hearths, gave to the Spanish m
earnest enthusiasm, that has become a permanent ch
istic of the nation. The English constitution sprang
Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements; while in the ch
spirit of the crusades was enkindled the war of a
years, that at that period raged between England and
and whereby both those states first developed th
strength. The Italian civilization received from the
ine and Byzantine commerce its peculiar character;

e Turkish conquest of Constantinople, and the arrival
ek refugees, this influence, though perhaps at a some-
period, and more slowly, would have been exerted.
the nations of Europe were no longer united in
ainst a common foe, in the distant East, they turned
readily their strength against each other, as did
d England, or as happened in Spain, the constitu-
e state was founded and completed without any
influence whatever. Among almost all the western
e internal wants of the state and the condition of
y brought about alike these constitutional changes.
and the severe system of knightly manners asso-
h it, had never become universal. Even those
ich the church had once formed between all the
Europe, and between all the classes of each nation,
e far feebler and more relaxed. In proportion to
s complications in which feudal relations became
red, was the sanctity of the feudal tie diminished.
vassals were grown almost independent, and exer-
ighest prerogatives of sovereign power, which they
ioned among themselves, and thus exhibited among
and in relation to the other orders, a state of con-
lawlessness. But this very state of things led men
e law, and to the anointed representative thereof.
wholesome and necessary, and the change may be
appy one, when the constitution of the three estates
d, for entirely to sacrifice or destroy it would only
o exchange one evil for another. Hence we see in
s during this period the regal authority grow rapidly
eight and strength, that in the sequel its prerogatives
untries by the reaction which naturally arose have
abated. In France the growth of regal power had
prepared. Even in the older French history we
ht upon a character like that of Lewis the Ninth,
ot study the interests of France merely as well as
wer, but those of all Europe and the universal weal.
we must chiefly seek out and dwell upon characters
cent and truly great, instead of singling out, as do
storians, almost exclusively, kings such as Philip
Philip the Fair, and others like them, who were
and who succeeded in aggrandizing their own power

on every side. Our knowledge of earlier history is stil
obscured by the fact, that the system of absolute mo
or of universal equality, whereof the latter so soon
back the former, alone arrests the attention of most
History might then justly be called the teacher of life
school of wisdom, if she but taught us to withstand th
of thinking prevalent in the present age, with
deceptive pretences, and to appreciate the constitution
liamentary estates and the grounds of its superiority
stitution, wherein a nobility, strong, but regulated
neither weakens the authority of the king, nor crus
liberties of the people, but links them together, and
them alike. In France under Lewis the Ninth th
power was augmented, and under Lewis the Eleventh
almost unlimited. Burgundy, a new power, which ha
during the contest with England, and to which th
fortune and the merit of its chiefs had imparted su
growth, alone for a time counterbalanced the prepon
of France.

Commercial activity and manufacturing indust
now made Burgundy, and especially the Netherla
wealthiest country perhaps in Europe. All the art
amongst an energetic people, are wont to follow in the
wealth and commerce, flourished to the highest exte
seemed to warrant the sovereign of such a state in
and pretensions so aspiring as were those of Cha
Bold. These great schemes, however, too impetuou
recklessly pursued, upon encountering the secret arts
the Ninth and the valour of the Swiss, were at last
wrecked. The events that in France had been long
ing the aggrandizement of regal power, were in
suddenly and swiftly developed. After the glorious c
of Edward the Third, the victory of the Black Pri
successes of Henry the Fifth, whom a poet of hi
pictures to us as the flower and favourite of his coun
and upon whose premature death the noblest hopes
heroic age sank with him into the tomb—after all
martial energies of England were turned against herse
bloody feuds of York and Lancaster. In animosit
atrocious deeds, these civil conflicts renewed the old
of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. In the French w

victorious over armies of thrice their own strength, ved themselves the first people of the age, not only e but in military art. With energies such as these, wars were rendered all the more desolating and nd, as always happens amid the general exhaustion it on civil commotions, when peace at last ensued, to the enlargement of monarchic power.

ower we see Henry the Eighth exercise to an extent, rcely any French king had done; and despite the nce of ancient forms, an unlimited despotism was in xercised by him. In Spain the unity of the state only a work of gradual growth; for it was not a single kingdom, but consisted of two distinct On the one side were the Spaniards in the northern s, who had never been subdued by the Arabs, and iefs sprang from the ancient Gothic line of kings, had early founded the kingdoms of Castile and On the other side was the kingdom of Navarre, by the counts of the French marches, who had ac- dependence. These were the two foundations of the power in Spain. Although at one time they were ted, and some of the earlier Spanish kings had ttained considerable power, yet from the custom- tions of heritage their territories were soon again ered. Portugal, an off-shoot of Castile, was perma- parated; Arragon, founded by Navarre, formed an ent kingdom. Castile and Arragon, northern and Spain, differed then in language, manners, institu- l civilization, even more than they do now. South- n, through its Mediterranean commerce, attained flourishing state of prosperity. Here, in Barce- Valencia, in the most beautiful climate of Europe, s in southern France, was the native seat of that ovençal poetry, so much spoken of by the older and which was styled the "joyous science." The nd grave Castilian subsequently acquired the pre- ce. In general history Spain first obtains a place. union of Arragon with Castile under Ferdinand and and the conquest of Grenada, when it became one at and leading powers of Europe. In the joint reign ry of Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella we must

carefully discriminate between the two sovereigns. F
can scarcely be vindicated from the charge of having
to aggrandize his power even by unjust means. V
ferent was the case with the virtuous Isabella, whos
standing was as vigorous as her soul was pure. Wi
enthusiasm she incited her chivalry to arms, in
liberate the last spot of Spanish ground from the yok
stranger; and in peace she watched with unwearied
the interests of her people. At her side stood t
Ximenes, at once a churchman in the fullest, strict
of the word, a scholar, a profound far-seeing statesm
a hero in courage and strategic skill, in defence of h
land against the ancient foes of Spain and the
faith. Both Ximenes and Isabella were worthy
other. It was an age abounding in characters v
passionate, despotic, like Charles the Bold, Ch
Eighth of France, and in hateful and crafty ones, li
the Eleventh, and the violent Henry the Eighth of
Not seldom, however, is the eye gladdened also by t
of lofty virtues. At this time we see everywhere
titude of great characters and distinguished minds,
versal stir and fulness of life in rapid and unexpe
velopment, which precede a truly great epoch, on
great not merely by outward commotions and accide
quests, but by its spirit and inward energy. If I
the Catholic aimed at absolute sway quite as much
in England and Lewis in France, yet under the fre
tution of Spain the attempt was for the moment far
ticable. The power enjoyed by the estates of the r
by the cortes was too great and too well organized.
the nobility, but the cities also in that country
tremely powerful; so that, when internal commoti
out, a kind of civil war, as in Germany, was carri
tween the nobles and the cities. In Spain, more
where, was the whole tone of thought of the nation
by the spirit of chivalry; and hence the high mora
and dignity it exhibited during this period.

In the progress of modern times, so far, at least,
been determined by one great event—the new trad
East Indies—no people made such early and rapid
as the Portuguese. By systematic and extended

nd by their improvements in the art of navigation, been for nearly a century preparing the way to the of India, till at last the brilliant result crowned ng efforts. It is hence conceivable, as all the this nation had already long taken this direction, eriod so brief all the most fertile coasts of India and e covered with Portuguese ships, as once they had Arabian ones, emporiums, settlements, and perma- ssions. Marvels of courage and of daring, bordering rly incredible, were accomplished by the Portuguese f heroic age of their flourishing power. On them rtunate Gama devolved the fairest share of the new they gained a living commerce; Spain, at first, but d. Instead of the gorgeous India that his soul r, the India so much lauded in the recitals of the he unfortunate Columbus, wrestling with every th every misfortune, and, above all, with ingrati- to the hour of his death, discovered only a huge utterly dissimilar to the old world in the form of and animals; a land savage itself, and inhabited s; a land which, at a subsequent period, when colonies had followed in the track of conquest, a nursery of European races and European free- that time, when suddenly all the wealth of India ng into the capital of Portugal, when her ships y sea, astonished Europe might well surname the e king Emanuel the Great. But precisely because guese nation poured out all its energies into the was its immediate influence upon the system of states null, or at least extremely slight; and in the tion of its prosperity and power, this people, then ious for daring courage and spirit, may be com- those plants that bloom but for a few hours, yet t-lived blossoms outshine in brilliancy and beauty er beside.

nd still more Germany, were the most immediate this newly-established commerce. Both were f the greater part of their then existing trade. ny the loss must be added, that the value of the ines, till then considerable, was greatly depre- y, became utterly insignificant, measured by the of the treasures of Peru.

The more the new era of Maximilian and of Ch
Fifth, from the rich variety of great phenomena it
comprises within itself an epitome of the world's his
more needful is it for us to scan the then conditi
world, in order to judge accurately what were the g
good objects aimed at and achieved by either
monarchs.

The character of the western nations of Europe, a
before remarked, was variously moulded accordin
special form assumed in each country by the
migration, and according to the kind and degree
exerted on each by the crusades, as well as by
commerce with India. These are the most effective
comparison, in discriminating the national mind and
of civilization, that characterized the Italians, S
French, and English. But this standard is inapp
the northern and eastern peoples, either because the
lie within the range of these great historical e
because these events exerted, if any, only a re
mediate influence upon them. The national spirit
state of civilization of these northern and easter
may be deduced, perhaps, with the most clearness a
from the original tribe-character of each; from the
on the one side, in which each stood to the Asia
and on the other from the degree of intellectual cu
may have derived from western and southern Eu
few words will suffice to remind our hearers of the
in which the most important of these nations stood
at that time to the European system of states, a
new and great epoch that was in the course of deve

In the time of the Hohenstaufen, when the e
Germany were turned upon Italy, and absorbed in
contests, Denmark had extended her power in
Germany, and on the German coasts of the Ba
influence, however, speedily disappeared, and the
German Hanseatic league, unrivalled in naval ar
and mistress of the Baltic, rather reduced the thre
kingdoms to a state of dependence. United as t
doms were in the fifteenth century, they might ha
one powerful state; but theirs was a union without r
the ferment in the minds of men already exist

d to the separation of Sweden, and which, under
ndants of Wasa, was destined to raise her to so
er, and insure her such decisive influence upon the
Europe. At this period these three united king-
the north were wholly occupied with their own
concerns, and had little or no influence on the
ystem of Europe. Russia lay wholly beyond the
hat system; her great and powerful commercial
ne were connected with the German Hanseatic
Very powerful even in early times, she had received,
ith Christianity, a considerable share of her intel-
lture from Constantinople. But this Byzantine
ver possessed that stirring, vital strength, that was
ed in the civilization of the West, that had sprung
fusion of the Roman and Germanic minds. But
ilization in Russia was again destroyed under the
f the Moguls, who, under Ghengis Khan and his
ruled over all northern Asia; who, on the one
ght great battles in Silesia, and on the other
r with Japan, devastated Poland and Hungary, and
rest of Europe with terror and dismay. Towards
f the fifteenth century, Vasiliwitch, who has been
Great, became the restorer of the Russian empire,
then only heard of as a kind of unknown world
f marvellous adventure. Poland, by the downfal
and by its union with Lithuania, had now become
able state; but one, however, still altogether mili-
ly engrossed by its domestic affairs, and destitute of
over the political system of Europe. Even her
her political relations with the Teutonic knights in
were attended with no important effects on the
mpire at large. After she had adopted Christianity,
elonged, indeed, through the Roman Catholic reli-
ne political system of Europe, but her old connection
many had been gradually dissolved. The German
ould not here, as in Hungary, exert any influence
tate in general, and the cities in particular, as they
ined to the single province of Silesia; and this
more the case when that province was separated
and, and became united to Bohemia. Thus were
nded, in this age so fertile in fresh energies; thus

were nations developed; thus the way prepared for
events; great men arose even in distant countries, t
remote from western and central Europe. A very im
and active member of the then political system was H
No Christian people of Europe displayed so visibly, a
served so faithfully, its Asiatic national character, y
had participated so largely in the civilization of
Europe. They received it contemporaneously with
anity, through the medium of those numerous coloni
Germany, in the time of Stephen the Great, and subse
which were so much favoured by the kings of the f
Arpad, and which not only augmented the popula
power, but also promoted the civilization of the
Under the kings of the house of Anjou an intercou
Italy sprang up. The influence upon Hungary of th
lectual culture of Italy prevailed so exclusively in t
of Matthias Corvinus, that disregard of Hungarian na
was made matter of reproach to that prince. In l
was perceptible that endeavour to enlarge the roya
which was now witnessed in almost all countries.
petuous, the heroic energy, whereby his illustrious
Hunyad, proved himself a bulwark against Turkish
ancy, was in part directed by Matthias against Aus
other neighbouring Christian states, instead of bein
exclusively against the common foe. The Turkish co
whereby Asia retaliated the crusades upon the
peoples, gave rise to a Mahomedan state in the
regions of Europe, and exercised decisive influence u
quarter of the world; for when great energies exist,
is so calculated to develop them suddenly and rapid
presence of a great and common danger. It was
danger to the states and to the faith, but also dang
nations themselves, and to their intellectual cultu
which Europe was threatened by the Turks. T
were by no means indeed to be termed an altoget
and ignorant people; for all the productions of t
polished Mahomedan nations, the Persians and A
science, in literature, and in poetry, were known
appropriated, imitated, and naturalized among the
what as were Grecian science and literature by the
Romans. As a great naval power, and as a co

e Turkish empire could not possibly forego the
es of civilization, or remain altogether estranged
But not to speak of the arrogance inherent in their
d, which renders all Mahomedans so incomparably
ptible and capable of all higher progress in civiliz-
were the Turks at that time, if not in themselves,
in their relations to Europe as conquerors, justly
s to the title of barbarians. Their whole devastating
f warfare, their mode of treating conquered coun-
ir habit of carrying away many hundred thousands
ery, their oppressive system of tribute,—all this
ting aside the excesses of fanaticism) was calculated
on to render their sway truly terrific, and to spread
ut all Christian countries universal dismay. The
as the more imminent, because in the then blooming
their power there was no want of great sovereigns
es among them, many of whom may have seriously
ed the idea of converting not only Hungary, but
and and Germany, into a Turkish pashalic. Even
ern countries, although secure on the land side,
ng as the Turks were powerful and almost supreme
Mediterranean, and the piratical states of Africa
under their influence, suffered incalculable losses
eir flourishing sea-coasts. By this great and com-
ger Europe was awakened from her slumber; and in
Italy, in Germany, yea even in France, until King
he First set the first example of an opposite senti-
thusiasm against the foes of the Christian faith and
manners was then the predominant feeling.
of universal commotion, which constitute epochs in
are usually brought about in a twofold manner.
riginal causes and first beginnings of every great
e generally in existence for a length of time, although
to the multitude, and work in secret, until some
m without precipitates a sudden outbreak. It would
if the human race, in the throes of its development,
perpetual alternation, and, oscillating between long
of tranquil progress and brief epochs of universal
on, worked its onward way towards its hidden goal.
o in the Germanic migration and in the crusades, and
t now too in the age of Charles the Fifth. The

cause of the great movements of this age lay in the un
unfolding of their moral and intellectual powers amo
western states and nations. In Spain, England, Fran
Italy, these powers reached maturity at about the ver
when Germany was likewise rising anew to her
greatness: when, on the one side, the discovery
unknown worlds had imparted fresh life and given
pected impulse to Europe; and, on the other, the
conquerors had struck by their rapid progress terr
Christendom, and summoned her to a war of self-
This twofold movement produced a sudden develop
extraordinary powers, whose action indeed was di
rather in discord than in concord, but the like whe
history of the world has but rarely shown. This
appropriately called the age of Charles the Fifth, not
he had called it into being or created it; for this no
dual man however great, no ruler however powerful,
alone accomplished; rather had he during his whole lif
a protracted warfare against his age, and striven to
headlong current. But the period may be rightly as
with his name, because his powerful mind best compr
the entire scope of the prevailing movement, and s
preserve the unity of Europe.

After this survey of the European world,—of all t
and nations, which mediately or immediately, as defe
opponents, were to take part in the great contest
review of all the elements, which were already prepa
way for the development of the new epoch, an
contributed to mould its character—let us now r
Germany and Italy, which still remained the centre
of European civilization, but of European politics. G
after having, in consequence of constitutional chang
under the Bohemian emperor Charles, into a fe
disorganized condition, and after her imperial crow
to have utterly lost all authority and respect under We
began to rise anew under the last Bohemian emper
mund. This was attributable partly to the powe
sessed as king of Hungary, albeit his reign in tha
was not untroubled; but principally to the two grea
councils of Constance and of Basel. These councils S
true to the ancient idea of the emperor as the pr

n and of the whole Christian republic of Europe, with the utmost zeal. He was moved to this zeal a special cause more nearly touching his own for he needed these general assemblies of the d the expression of public opinion they formed, in ubdue more readily the Hussites, either by forcible ceful means. The sanguinary novelties of the riginated not in any philosophical theory embracing system of the Catholic faith, as in the case of Brescia, but in the denial of some particular and rites of Christianity. These doctrines, first by a German, had been developed in England, and nsplanted to Prague, had found in the troubled and ed state of the empire material and fuel enough to reat popular commotion. And now in these bloody ars we, for the first time, perceive what frightful st ensue, when the affairs of the church and of y, neglected by their spiritual and temporal heads, t duty it had been to watch over them, at last on a passionately excited people, and have to be a desolating civil war.

pendent condition of the popes at Avignon had led elections, and, as some nations recognised one and other of the two popes as legitimate and validly universal disrupture, a schism of the western as the result. This schism produced so many ffects upon modes of thinking, upon manners, upon and upon the public condition in general, that it y regarded as the greatest calamity by contempo- ittle as those councils fulfilled the hopes that had tained of them, heavy as is the censure that their pro- nd decrees have in many respects brought down, yet ctheless contributed in an extraordinary degree to connection between the several European states, as f a common Christian republic, and thus served to e way for the subsequent epoch. Their more imme- t, to effect a valid election of the supreme head of h, and to secure his independence, was indeed ut was in one respect dearly purchased. At first, o allay more easily the difficulties springing from a rcely composed, men, meritorious indeed, but distin-

guished also by their high birth, were elected as head
church. This was a proceeding in itself as little
absolute censure, as it was for the popes, when onc
restored to Rome, zealously to engage in the task of t
tical restoration and conservation of the ecclesiastical
the guarantee of their independence. The fifteenth
too, can point to several popes great and distingui
their learning and character. But only too easily
pass from one extreme to another. What was at first
a just anxiety for the maintenance of an independe
had been long curtailed, speedily appeared to bec
chief aim of policy. The endeavours of the great
houses to acquire the supreme ecclesiastical dignity
for high birth and secular power gained in the papal
an overweening influence: and, in general, the
Italian prince often occupied the place of the supren
siastical chief. The warlike Julius the Second, wh
have gained great glory on a temporal throne, did
injure the Roman see in public opinion, than did
moral reputation of Alexander the Sixth. Leo th
himself, the son of the great Lorenzo, the patron of
possessed many qualities which entitled him to the h
giving his name to the age of the revival of learning
those qualifications, which were more immediately
his high calling, and which would have enabled him to
the religious unity of Europe, he was far more defici
ascetic Ximenes, whose powerful mind included in
political affairs and social relations equally with th
learning of his age, would have then been better on th
throne than all the Medici.

If the concentration in the person of Sigis
royal and imperial power; if the revival of the old
the nations of western Christendom formed a great
hood; if the primacy of honour and the influence
accruing to the emperor contributed much to exalt o
the fallen imperial dignity, yet the union of the
Luxemburg and Austria, realized likewise in the p
Sigismund, produced consequences no less fortunat
Germany. The germ of discord was removed by th
of the two princely houses, the most powerful at tha
Germany; for Bavaria, which had been so much agg

emperor Lewis, had again lost most of its new
ns. The great hopes, it is true, both for Germany
e grandeur of his own house, which the emperor
e Second had inspired, were blasted by his prema-
n. Moreover, the long-desired union between
nd Hungary was on the death of the youthful
interrupted, until at a subsequent period it was
by Maximilian. The imperial dignity, however,
ned uninterruptedly in that princely house, which,
ime of Rodolph, possessed so many claims thereto,
, by its chivalrous virtues and political principles,
capable than any other of reviving its ancient
Frederick the Fourth laboured strenuously to
imperial prerogatives, although, from the weakness
ditary states, he was unable successfully to withstand
or armies of Hungary under Matthias Corvinus.
l the apparent calm and nonchalance of his singular
we cannot deny him the possession of learning,
nd prudence; qualities whereby he acquired no
able influence over the affairs of Europe. But the
nder of the Austrian house and of Austrian power
uth, his son Maximilian. If, despite the good
hich sometimes attended him, he had oftener need
e; if his active and restless life was one unbroken
if he was unable to realize many of his greatest
yet his genius nevertheless remained by no means
luence. More by that genius than by outward power
ome the renovator of Germany, especially of her
n, her manners, her general modes of thinking,
ivilization. Thus he had the chief agency in
o being and laying the foundations of the new

LECTURE XI.

HE AGE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

n age is ripe for a general convulsion, it needs but
ock, but a single spark, and the flames burst forth
. Such was now the condition of Europe. The

royal authority in France, in Spain, and England ha
taneously with the national energies been develope
unwonted degree; the power of Switzerland and th
of Italy had attained their highest pitch, and Germ
already nurturing the youthful hero, who was des
raise her once more to her ancient dignity, when she
first state, the first nation in Europe. The Burgundia
the ambition of Charles the Bold, enkindled by h
spirit of chivalry, by the ancient name of Burgundy
vast wealth of his dominions, by his own proud hear
the example of Alexander the Great—was this firs
that for upwards of a century and a half threw al
into the convulsions of war. The Swiss overthrew
gundians in three immortal battles, the last of which t
hero Charles could not survive, and thereby laid th
the foundation for the grandeur of the house of H
with whom they had been at feud for a century and a
with an exasperation that far exceeded the limits of
rupture. Even before the fatal ambition of the daring
broken out in the Swiss war, the emperor Frederick th
had taken, as he believed, the best means to se
greatness of his house and the dignity of the em
betrothing his son Maximilian to the heiress of B
Whether, on his interview with Charles, the violen
Burgundian, or the envious suggestions of the Fre
Lewis alarmed him, and induced his speedy departu
be decided. Both sovereigns must have been equall
the temper of the pacific and honourable emperor.
wild attack which Charles undertook against the
Frederick proved that if he loved peace, it was not fr
ness or from mere love of ease. It was the object of
of Burgundy to erect those central provinces betwee
and Germany, which since the times of Charlemagne
Carlovingians had been connected by so many and
into a kingdom, which was to stretch from the Nort
the Alps, perhaps even to the southern coasts of
Such a kingdom would have been with justice calle
gundian one, would have satisfied, nay have surpa
claims associated with the name, and Charles wo
become a king, not only in name, but in reality.
foiled (as indeed failure had often attended the att

l chivalrous nobility, which, however, was not or-
ıpon the new tactical system), by the unconquerable
of the Swiss peasantry. What policy had been
o effect was now accomplished by love and heroism,
an say with truth, that it was love which knit the
tween Mary of Burgundy and the youthful Maxi-
This is confirmed by the intimate concord which
l the souls of both during their brief union. It
also in the open and quite unexpected declaration
Mary to the assembled States, that were hesitating to
etween France and the other claimants to her hand.
ıounced to them that she had already long plighted
Maximilian by written promise and by interchange
and hence could not now retract. Maximilian eagerly
ed to these words, so flattering both to his feelings and
ve of fame, with suitable deeds of daring, and in the
n of those times had full opportunity to furnish the
uous proofs of knightly heroism. Thus begins the
of the great emperor, more like a romance of
than the first unfolding of important political
To him love was no idle play of the imagination—
y dream of youth; but the flame which enkindled him
deeds. Even as a mere youth, when dealing with
ran politician Lewis the Eleventh, who had grown
the arts of dissimulation, he gave proof of a strong
ınding; and the constancy, that never deserted him
ıidst of the insurgent people, showed that he possessed
r the courage of the valiant knight in the day of battle,
that far more rare and lofty courage, which never
him to be bowed down or shaken, which kept him
master of himself, even when deprived of arms, and in
lls of the enemy, and ever mindful of his own honour
ıity. It was given to him to unite what is so rarely
ıeroic energy with tender gentleness. He, who fighting
superior numbers, had himself worsted so many in the
eld,—who, for knightly sport and recreation, used, like
llous heroes of antiquity, to vanquish lions with his
d,—who on their own terrific crags left behind him
the boldest hunters of the Alps,—who made it his
ent, in his headlong course, to sport with danger,—he
he same time susceptible of the tenderest emotions.

Of his first beloved wife, who was so quickly snatched
from him, he could never speak or think for years aft
death without emotion and tears ;—to his father, whom
much surpassed in energy and intellect, he yet inva
evinced the most pious reverence and filial devotedness,
presuming on his superior faculties. Although born a w
and a general, he was nevertheless, both by sentimen
on principle, a lover of peace ; and, as far as was comp
with honour and the accomplishment of his great obje
ever preferred peaceful negotiations to an appeal to arm
showed unwearied patience and pliancy in all transa
and affairs of state.

This great and virtuous emperor has been often asper
the depreciatory criticisms both of native and foreig
torians, simply and exclusively because he was una
execute all his great schemes. As though the noble
best ideas were those, which so thoroughly correspo
the wishes of the multitude, that any one who but po
power and is favoured by fortune, may comprehend, ma
realize them ;—as though that very thing is not ofte
hardest to accomplish, which yet is alone right and truly
which the multitude and the age do not as yet spontan
desire and believe in, but which is still necessary for th
order to raise them above themselves ;—as though in a
contest with the spirit of an age, greater moral heroism
not be evinced, than by taking advantage of its weaknes

And after all Maximilian achieved more, and e
greater influence on his own age and Europe itself, th
of the three French kings, who were his contempo
although they possessed far greater power ; more too t
the subtle Italian politicians, who thought they so oft
surpassed and overreached him, as every one else b
this side of the Alps. As regards his internal po
Germany and Austria, the Catholic Queen Isabel
Ximenes, can alone, among his contemporaries, sus
comparison with him. While yet in the flower of h
and, as it were, at a stroke, he saved his Burgundia
tage, the preservation of which, under the circumstanc
passed all expectation ; he delivered Austria from H
after the death of Matthias Corvinus, and although
quarter he was neither able nor willing further to fol

ntages and victories, he yet secured the old here-
ims of Austria upon that crown, and founded upon
o great acquisitions and expectations the future
his house. Under the sole government of his
peace had been often troubled: but with his co-
it was now fully restored, and its divided strength
e reunited.

ver, as he could not always accomplish all that he
his personal relations to Europe, to Germany, and to
general, and the influence he exercised upon them,
ar better understood by reflecting upon the prin-
t guided him, rather than by narrating his actions
y. The principles according to which Maximilian
he affairs and political relations of Europe, as well as
ny, were identical with those, which his predecessors
psburg family had long followed, and always kept
The only difference was, that he took up these
with greater energy and zeal, and combined with
y ideas and views altogether original and peculiar.
pect to European affairs, the principles of Austria
ever the same, from the time of Albert the Second
Maximilian, yea, even to Charles the Fifth; namely,
ll the military force of united Europe against the
ersal enemy the Turks, and among the Christian
o preserve peace as much as possible; to attain
ct rather by way of peaceful negotiation than by
rms; and if contests and wars did actually arise,
o compose them in the same way, as a family dis-
unite the reigning houses more and more into one
nd, finally, to support in all things the dignity and
ity of the church and of the pope, and uphold the
ghts and claims of the imperial crown. That even
the Austrian sovereigns never sought to stretch
ority beyond the limits of a supreme protectorate
old imperial fashion), or to convert their power
ited despotism, is best proved by the result.

vere the principles on which all the Austrian em-
m Albert the Second to Charles the Fifth, based
cy. They were very different from those of the
opean kings, among whom, if any system—any
ims, of government be traceable, they are such only

as tend to the consolidation of absolute power. The A
sovereigns, moreover, were guided by the far loftier i
a Christian republic—of a free and peaceable confedera
all European states and nations. The very first under
of the emperor Albert was a vigorous war again
Turks, wherein sickness and death overtook him. It
great misfortune for Hungary, that after his death, a
pecially during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, the e
of that country, instead of being employed in perse
opposition against the Turks, were weakened by i
divisions, or altogether wasted in idle and ambitious s
against neighbouring Christian kingdoms. Brief as
reign, Albert the Second gave, nevertheless, the st
proofs of his anxiety for the peace of the church and
dignity of its head. Even from the time of their
Rodolph, the Austrian had been distinguished ab
German princes as well by their devotion to the fa
to the church, as by their chivalrous virtues. In the
the emperor Frederick the Fourth, his long friends
Æneas Sylvius, who was subsequently Pope Pius the
is one of its noblest traits. The labours of this pon
of the most learned and intellectual men of his a
succeeded in restoring the peace of the church, t
chiefly by the schisms of the councils, and the fury
Hussites. If all his successors in the papal chair had
stood Germany and German affairs so accurately as
peace would have been longer preserved. The superio
of the warlike, capricious, and avaricious Matthias C
Frederick indeed was unable to withstand; but in hi
tiations and political relations with Switzerland, with
and Burgundy, he was more fortunate. In these
played, besides his usual sagacity, a love of peace, t
with him, not a sentiment merely, but a principle. M
lian, too, was only drawn by others into that eddy o
alliances, and counter-alliances, which at that peri
half Europe in agitation. Charles the Bold's ambiti
thirst of fame gave the impulse; and after his fall, t
lust of conquest seized on the French kings, especially
the Eighth; while Lewis the Eleventh, on the contra
striven to aggrandize his power only within his own
nions. When the contest regarding the inheritance

vas at length terminated, this lust of conquest was
towards Italy. Milan and Naples were the objects,
tzerland the generally too ready instrument, of these
s views. The levity and anarchy of the Florentines,
h neutrality of Venice, and the crafty politics of all
ans, furnished the materials of fermentation, and fed
es of war, which devastated Italy so long, with ever
l.

talians had brought these evils on themselves; they
n the first to call in the French.

their country had long been the theatre of war,
it had been utterly distracted, the ruling idea of the
as expressed in one single wish, namely, the liberation
from foreign yoke, or from the yoke of the barbarians,
ermed all born on this side of the Alps. This was,
a mere negative, an utterly unattainable desire.
uld not at that period become a single state, for
the subsisting states, which were all of nearly equal
ould so far acquire superiority over the others, as to
he centre of the new body politic, and incorporate them
lf? For this purpose it would have been necessary
e this one, they should all be first dissolved, and their
uliarities at least be destroyed. Thus it was often the
tics who spoke the loudest about the unity and inde-
e of the nation, who threw their country into anarchy,
thereby to its subjection. The Italians of that age
eed in general superior to any other people in politics;
ply that term to dissimulation, or to the art of acquir-
reserving power by all possible means; but of great
ideas we find no longer any trace among them at this
It was self-evident that northern and central Italy
ly be constituted as a confederation of independent
Now if, in order to maintain equilibrium therein, the
d protection of a third party were needed, it would have
y for the Italians to draw a comparison between the
protectorate which they were introducing, and that
control of the German emperors, which was founded
cient law and custom. They should have contrasted
of the smaller provinces incorporated with the French
y, such as Bretagne and Provence, with the independ-
oyed by the particular states and nations in Germany

under the imperial sway. Hence those older Italian p
of the time of Dante, who desired nothing more ardentl
to see a vigorous German emperor, who should love
and justice, and should regenerate Italy and the empire,
a far better path than those later and false patriots of Flo
who had the liberation of Italy perpetually on thei
Could Maximilian have fulfilled the singular wish
pressed in his later years of becoming pope, we may
presume, that he would have succeeded in Italy as wel
Germany by establishing order and unity in a confeder
Italian states, and perhaps making Rome the centre o
a league. He would probably have been more compe
preside over the church than Pope Julius the Second, w
as much addicted to war as he was inconstant in his alli
and who no less contributed to introduce confusion into
than to lower the authority of the ecclesiastical dignity.

In the whirlpool of these Italian wars, amid the confu
leagues and counter-leagues quickly formed and diss
and wherein he was now fairly entangled, Maximilian
characterized by the conscientiousness with which he a
to the alliances he had once entered into. He was
averse to the arts of the Italian politicians, and to the
wherewith the French kings, albeit they were not all syst
cally faithless like Lewis the Eleventh, so speedily forgo
promises. This conscientiousness often deprived him
greatest advantages and success. One design he had i
Italian wars peculiar to himself, but which he was un
realize, although the principal powers of that period
rated with him to that end, either from not rightly compr
ing or from quickly losing sight of the object: this was
struction and partition of Venice. The high degree in w
was personally wronged by Venice can here alone jus
excuse him. The encroachments and conquests of
had violated or menaced the Tyrol, Italy, and the em
its ancient rights, claims, and territorial frontiers.
therefore, was a sufficient ground and occasion for war,
the spirit of conquest was not here without its influen
this was the quarter, certainly, in which it could be e
with the most advantage to the hereditary dominions
house of Austria. Maximilian, however, sought not
Venice, but urged its destruction, and his hatred again

only one against which he evinced hatred, may ave had other besides these merely personal grounds. plicated and agitated community of independent undisguised, warlike, and passionate lust of conquest dangerous and fatal to that public spirit, which preserve freedom and unity, than cold selfish Nothing is more likely to offend and exasperate a animated with love of justice and honour, and by great ideas, than such calculating selfishness. his loftier point of view, Maximilian may not per- been wrong in attributing the source of all the ily chiefly to Venice.

as it is to censure the state-policy of Maximilian, e did not succeed in all his objects, he yet accom- ore than the kings of France, with incomparably wer, were able to achieve, for with all their love of the latter yet acted as if they had no plan what- ould not adhere to one. Fortune assisted in raising n's son, Philip the Fair, as well as his grandson the Spanish throne. But would it not be indeed ascribe exclusively to fortune the fruit of so many rgone, so many obstacles overcome ; when it is t no contemporary sovereign was so active and inde- n negotiations, and in the despatch of state business, upon such fixed principles, as Maximilian ?

pler than his share in the Italian troubles, and in of Europe in general, was his task in Germany , from the badness of the constitution, and the which was thereby perpetuated, he had extraordi- ulties to contend with. His peculiar merit did not unwearied, ever-renewed efforts, that he made to he public peace, and give efficiency to the laws for by the institution of the chamber of justice, and on of Germany into circles. These measures had dy approved of and commenced by his predecessors, to be commended for having carried them into greater energy and perseverance, and on a more plan. The reason, however, why tranquillity was lly re-established, is to be sought for in the con- tself, in which Charles the Fourth, far from eradi- chief political evils, had, by imparting to them the

semblance of law, only perpetuated and legalize
Charles the Fourth, too, had promulgated laws regar
public peace. But his views and principles we
different from those of the Austrian emperors. It is
able that the far more fitting measures proposed
emperor Albert the Second, for insuring the publi
were rejected, because they were found too favourab
cities, a striking proof of the spirit that animated th
of the Austrian emperors. Frederick the Fourt
affirmed, sought to abolish the Roman jurisprudence,
prudence which had introduced so much complication
affairs of life, and whose influence was injurious to
and which had deprived us of that noble old in
originally Germanic, but now preserved in England
the sessions of the peace, wherein the judges are ta
the people themselves, and the accused are tried
peers. It is certain that it was the general princi
Austrian emperors to uphold national rights and
The best illustration of Austrian principles with r
the political constitution of Germany is to be foun
first proposal for the subdivision of the empire acc
the four chief nations, the Suabians, Bavarians,
landers, and Saxons. We may assume that this div
circles was not intended merely as a substitute fo
extinct duchies, but was to pave the way for thei
tion. Such a restoration in regard to Suabia,
repeatedly endeavoured to accomplish; and here th
interest of the whole empire coincided with that of
house. To restore these old national duchies and c
tions would have been the sole means for thoroughly r
the constitution, so that all affairs of national int
especially the election of the king, should be decid
real will and power of the nation. The very reve
this took place in the elective constitution of Ch
Fourth, by reason of the arbitrary distribution of th
election without any reference whatever to the chief
and great divisions of the nation, as well as by rea
privileges conferred on the prince-electors. In a c
state, if the prince-electors are almost wholly in
and hereditary, and the supreme head finds himself
by his very election, it is easy to foresee that th

the force of things, every day grow more powerful, they have so many opportunities which they can vantage of for such a purpose. The head of the the other hand, becomes necessarily more and more s, the bonds between the head and the members are and the whole body politic approximates ever nearer solution. This, in the case of the Germanic empire, ıve ensued much earlier, if a concurrence of peculiar ances had not artificially so long protracted its exist- Thus Charles the Fourth's fundamental constitution of ire was in reality a fundamental disorganization Still more injurious was the moral effect it for the t produced upon the sentiments and modes of think- he German princes. By this constitution their feel- e necessarily and inevitably estranged and diverted empire at large, and their minds turned exclusively the aggrandizement of their own power; and it only ı happened, that the election of the king, which have been the most momentous affair of the whole was in the unworthiest manner made matter of ınd sale between a few princes and their councillors. ikewise, that selfishness and coarse appetite for petty l acquisitions, joined to the utmost indifference and nness for all that concerned their fatherland and its vell-being, which became from this period apparent sentiments and mode of thinking of the German In the pictures that are drawn of the club-law at that period, the blame of all the disorders then g is usually cast exclusively on the nobility. These were undoubtedly great, for they amounted almost eral civil war between the powerful and arrogant d an equally unbridled nobility. Under the mask, of mildness, and the semblance of legal forms, the cy of the princes, their want of patriotism, was per- greater than that of the nobles themselves. To the ith all their turbulence, we cannot deny, even at this ie possession of noble energies and qualities, which, been only better regulated and more severely con- must have exerted an ennobling and beneficial in- ıpon their country. We can also trace this spirit in biography of the hero, Götz von Berlichingen. The

whole club-law system and its animating sentiments a
truly enough revealed; and in his own frank avo
presents us with a curious compound of the robber-cl
of an enthusiastic hero devoted to his country and l
This warlike, club-law nobility, that now got the upp
was a new, and in truth a very degenerate, form of
when compared with our old national and the ensuin
and chivalrous nobility; it was the fourth form ass
that fundamental power of the state. The first gern
abuse lay in the ancient right of self-defence; this
racy, however, and anarchy, did not become generall
lent until the feudal ties grew relaxed and lost the
while the spirit of chivalry, never having become un
prevalent, was not sufficiently strong to counteract
There were two different means whereby this state
fusion could be put an end to: either by the establis
absolute monarchy, or by bringing back the noble
true destination and to the old original principle
Germanic constitution. The latter was the better,
wise the more arduous course. Among a nobility li
very powerful emperor alone could have succeeded
lishing order, and in directing such noble energi
well-being of the state. But it was the princes th
who chiefly impeded such a policy, by their perpetu
sition to the imperial authority, and by the general v
evinced of all high purpose and generous sentimen
truly princely and patriotic views.

In its principles and modes of thinking the house
burg is clearly distinguished from the other Germa
houses, and, by its more chivalrous spirit, forms a
able exception in that age; a very powerful cause m
be assigned in explanation of the fact. The extr
and almost uninterrupted series of misfortunes that
the interval between Rodolph and Maximilian may
tributed to preserve in its members a lofty tone
while recollections of Rodolph's fame and the pristin
their house and its great destinies upheld their co
that even in the utmost misfortunes they never ceas
at the imperial dignity, and at the restoration of the
glory. A great aim is the best security against p
and petty ways of thinking.

was so deeply impressed as Maximilian with noble
he honour of his house, as well as with the high
n of the imperial office. Himself a knight and a
German, he inspired the nobility of his age with a
hivalry and a spirit of patriotism, and in general
eace and order in Germany, as far as under the
ces was at all practicable. An idea peculiar to
n was the institution of the Suabian league. This
confederacy, founded in accordance with the old
customs and Germanic predilection for free associa-
after the example of the Swiss and the Hanseatic
s intended to create a national power, that might
e constitution to its ancient force and dignity.
of the cities, nobles, and princes might perhaps
nd heal the dissensions between the two first, which
grown to a general civil war, and might in general
national feelings and the sentiment of German
he most subdivided portions of the empire. To
this great and powerful league much contributed;
equently great events and new objects carried
spirit of the age, and a universal change ensued.
imilian here meditated something beyond and far
n this, is evident from his seeking to draw the
the Suabian league, and thus make a last attempt
hem once more closely to the empire. If in this
o he failed, he still has the merit of having sought
as the duty of a German emperor to seek,—of
reseen the unhappy consequences to Germany,
separation from Switzerland involved; and if any
means were left to reknit the severed ties, the
adopted was the most calculated to insure success.
des of thinking and the political principles of the
rinces may be most accurately characterized in a
, by saying that they best upheld the constitution
dle ages, until a new age required other maxims of
t. The three universal bonds, whereby all the
western Europe in the middle age were or might be
one Christian republic, were the Church, the Im-
ity, and the institution of chivalry. In these three
l powers lay all the substance and the whole com-
litical art in the middle age. They survived the

longest in the imperial house of Austria; while, in t
great states, the notion of all Christendom consti
body-politic—a confederacy of Christian nations, l
already long lost; all consideration for the general w
of Europe had been neglected, while selfish and iso
deavours to consolidate absolute power at home we
apparent. In the discharge of their imperial du
Austrian princes proved the truth of this assertion
devotion to the church, by their moderate policy,
upon pacific negotiations in the affairs of Europe, an
gards Germany, by their chivalrous virtues and
efforts to restore the true old Germanic freedom and
constitution.

If at that period even a Maximilian, one of the mo
energetic, and perhaps intellectual monarchs tha
history can point to, neither did nor could su
wholly renovating the German constitution, he
less exercised a powerful influence on the Germ
which under him, and in part by his means, recei
departments a fresh impulse. Although he did not
Charles the Fourth, merely to uphold the outward s
and dead forms of the constitution, but to maintain
store its living force, he was nevertheless acquain
all the new views and learning wherein his ag
fertile. Unweariedly active as a statesman, as a
warrior engaged in numberless wars and martial s
acquirements and productions in science and art woul
been sufficient to procure for him an honourable pl
the thinkers and artists of his time, and to have fil
life of a laborious scholar. With the greatest schol
age, he was in close correspondence; and, while
propose to some philosophic problems for solution,
in conjunction with others, personally and zealous
in historical researches. He suggested, nay eve
composed several works, and selected moreover th
language, although he was versed in all the other to
current in Europe, and, as a man of business, wa
with Latin. He loved and patronized the arts
which in his reign flourished in Germany, especi
person of Albert Dürer. The mechanical arts likew
mathematics were duly appreciated by him, and app

Through his means the military skill of the Ger-
d a higher degree of perfection, so that the German
ie Lands-knechte—was now considered equal to
and, with respect to fortification and the use of
e Germans, in the opinion of those skilled in the
perior to all other nations.

with restless activity, he was chiefly distinguished
comprehensiveness of mind, which embraced the
te objects in its grasp. For his impracticable and
projects, no one will reproach him who is ac-
th those times, and who knows how deeply his
as nevertheless felt mediately or immediately, or
ie called forth in the spirit of the age. His faults
s are not seldom to be found in noble-minded, and
1 very active men; he was somewhat extravagant,
was violent, although his powerful mind would
ain moderation and self-command, and he loved

racter of the German nation at this time was
o two perfectly distinct forms. The German
d the German cities, in intellect and refinement,
dissimilar than two distinct nations could be from

Of Maximilian, we may say that he united in
two elements of German character and German
then existing. The spirit of chivalry, which
longer gentle and tender, as it appears in earlier
istories, yet still continued to distinguish the law-
and to adorn them with some admirable qualities,
xcellences characteristic of the civilization of cities,
deep meditative spirit, which speaks to us from the
he paintings, and the writings that the burgesses of
ve left us, were blended in the mind of Maximilian.
aggeration we may call Maximilian, in respect of
ensive intellectual capacity, the most complete, the
German of his age.

LECTURE XII.

ON THE REFORMATION.

Before attempting to draw a picture of the a
Reformation and of Charles the Fifth, this appears
best opportunity for stating at full the object whic
had in view in the composition of these lectures.
we live in, will appear, even to the remotest cent
of the most remarkable and extraordinary that th
of the world can show. Who would not gladly ga
insight into the inward connection and hidden
such extraordinary phenomena? Who would n
learn to divine the course which the human mind
and will take amid this universal concussion of a
Who can wholly withdraw his mind from these loft
plations; can sever and keep himself independe
age? Whom does it not seize upon more or less fo
hurry irresistibly into the vortex of its movements?

Various attempts have been made to delineate t
fertile in great political changes, and in still more
intellectual revolutions, to explain and comprehend
movements. Such an end also I have proposed to
the present lectures.

That no real history of our own times can be w
at most, only preparatory materials for such can be
is quite clear; for no history of events, which are s
plete, which are yet too proximate to our view, an
we are still taking part, is possible. Some intellect
have attempted to characterize the social life of o
portraying the individual traits that distinguish
of these traits, indeed, are found to be correctl
many of the remarks are considered acute; wh
appear doubtful and vague, or may be even judged
but even if each observation taken singly be corr
the end we have but isolated views, while the lead
the connection and spirit of the whole, is wantin
nevertheless, is precisely what we seek for. On
hand, many perspicacious thinkers have endeavour
plain and characterize the spirit of the age, by pr

heory of the inevitable march of intellect and of
by assigning the place which the present age will
s progress, in this series of centuries and cycles.
f such a theory could lay claim to general accept-
n is far from being the case, it would still ever
ere undefined outline, an empty idea. When we
philosopher of this stamp that our age hovers on
between extreme degeneracy and the much-hoped-
ation and reform, such a remark is far from suffi-
ill not say fully to solve the problem of the
stinies and providential events, whereof we are
es, but even to enable us to appreciate the true
moral character of all these destructive movements
tions, in which we participate. The historical
ne the safest path for finding that correct appre-
he age, which is so anxiously sought for by all.
ar epochs of great and general convulsion have
efore now in the course of modern history, he
vivid perception of the age of the great northern
of the age of the Crusades, and that of the
n, who has maturely reflected upon the course,
ences, and the characteristic differences of these
surely be best on his guard against any illusions
on the startling events of our times, and best
form a clear, well-grounded judgment upon them.
ect, however, I believe that a new delineation of
facts, directed entirely to this object, will be
ttention, only if I succeed in describing and illus-
e three great epochs of universal convulsion.

rical explication of our own age by the study of
l be, however, fruitless, if we confine ourselves to
; if, for instance, we seek more isolated parallels,
all will be merely amusing, never exactly cor-
ily illustrative. The result will be the same, if
dless mass of facts in universal history, we seek
vherewithal to compare, and to justify, or excuse
f contemporary history; for it would be easy to
way some similar case, some apparently justifying
rything, however revolting to the feelings, how-
ng to the reason; and so in this manner the
ne Preacher would be verified, "that there is

nothing new under the sun." If we do not look to
tails, but to the general spirit and connection of histo
is, undoubtedly, no better antidote to the errors
own age, than the recollections of the mighty pa
this reason I thought myself obliged, in addition to
great epochs of universal convulsion—the epoch of
manic migrations, of the Crusades, and of the Refo
to add as vigorous a picture as was in my powe
primitive German people; to portray as well thei
condition, when they were still living in the prime
dom of their forests, as the full maturity of their ci
in the middle age. This required us especially to su
illustrate the great political powers and forms wh
vailed in the middle age; the relations and bonds
between the church and the old imperial power, in
Italy, and Europe; and, finally, the spirit of chivalr
was the more needful, because the chief question,
our own times, the grand question of our social co
turns upon the possibility of preserving what is e
good and beneficial in our ancient constitution, in
social relations that have sprung up throughout th
upon the best, most fitting, and safest combination
rights, with all that the circumstances of modern
periously require.

This leads us to reflect upon the chief fundamen
of civil life and the constitution of society. His
theory coincide in representing the nobility as th
mental power of the state, as all other orders h
formed and moulded in and by the nobility. If thi
will be the simpler and safer course to explain
nobility essentially consists; what its mission requ
be, by a mere comparison of facts, by a narrative
originally was, and what in the course of time it b
first by its noble development and glorification th
laws and high obligations of chivalry, and afterw
degeneracy and barbarism through club-law and
love of war. Such a course is far preferable to an
uncertain theories about the state, the constitution,
lation, of which our times have seen so many aris
appear. Of all earlier ages of universal commotio
approximates so closely to the present as the a

on. If, in the age of the migration of the Northern
d in that of the crusades, the universal movement
produced by a fresh spring of the imagination, in
e Reformation, precisely as in our own, it was the
ling, it was thought, that then asserted its supre-
l proved itself a power either of preservation or
n. That thought—that god within us—when turned
divine, should be able to exert so powerful a sway
orld and over time, is in itself something calculated
e dignity of man. How terrific its power and its
become, if passion and self-love govern its high
that age as well as our own offers striking and
examples. Hence a careful examination of the
on, and especially of its internal causes, will find a
ce in this series of reflections upon modern history,
tute a necessary, perhaps even the most important
of. The causes wherein originated the Lutheran
nd whereby they attained such rapid diffusion and
nanent duration, and, in fine, the reasons why,
a reformation of the whole church, a mere schism
sult, these will be set forth in the clearest light by
eristic description of the following four great and
ary Germans.

n, Ulric von Hutten, Luther, and Melancthon.
of them scholars, although the first filled also
nsiderable offices of state, and the second was a
d a knight. As scholars they exerted, by their
nd their eloquence, an influence upon their age and
world, such as few rulers and princes of that or any
od have exercised. The two former, Reuchlin and
s they only prepared the way for and sympathized
vement, occupy a less prominent place in history,
heir influence not really the less on that account.
was a man of whom it may be said, that if his had
redominant spirit, if so rare and profound a spirit
e become universal, a reformation in the higher
e word, a philosophic illustration and restoration of
y, obscured by scholastic disputes, would indeed
effected; but that never would Protestantism.
ld a schism in the church have been introduced.
cters of Ulric von Hutten and Luther account for

the rise of the schism, and for that spirit of violence, l
to all reconciliation, which the Reformation assumed fr
very outset. Had it been still possible to restor
troubled peace after the rupture had already existed
entire generation, that work, so earnestly desired by the
emperor Charles the Fifth, would have been more
accomplished through the mild Melancthon, and othe
minded men, than by any other Protestants. In subs
times the prevalent modes of thinking were much ch
the spirit of the Protestants became very different.
to understand, however, the moral philosophic causes
great event, so fertile in results, we must wholly tra
ourselves into that first period, must contemplate the Re
tion exactly as it was in its origin.

Reuchlin, one of the first scholars that German
produced, and as much at home in Italy as in his
country, united all the literary culture, all the knowled
learning, which either country at the end of the fi
century could supply. Not content with being the p
critic and restorer of the then reviving Greek literat
was at the same time, for all Europe, the founder and
of oriental studies. Unlike later scholars and men of
however, these studies were not with him a mere m
philology, of historical compilation, or of rhetorical bril
he directed all his researches to the highest object of
ledge, that which the inquiring mind must ever consi
principal concern, namely, the knowledge of man, of
and of God.

He was beyond comparison the profoundest philoso
his age; in the rare combination of depth with perspic
surpasses even Leibnitz. With respect to the fulness an
of his learning, no one at that day could be compared wi
except perhaps one Italian youth, Prince Pius di Mir
the wonder of his contemporaries. The latter, howev
snatched away by a premature death, and never attai
much lucidity of thought as Reuchlin. With the e
world, with life and affairs of state, Reuchlin was nec
familiar, as a man standing in closest connection with
the learned and with many highly educated princ
nobles of his time, both in Italy and Germany. His
lection for oriental languages and oriental philosophy r

bject of dislike and suspicion to some of the more
inded ecclesiastics and theologians of his time. The
vas animated, and was even carried to Rome; but in
e decision was favourable to Reuchlin and to the good
Rome was at that time more than ever the seat of
of the arts, and of true intellectual culture; and
efore the breaking out of the Reformation, an inde-
of thought prevailed there, that must almost astonish
present day. Yet it was not the case, as is often re-
, that in Rome free-thinking and religious indiffer-
revailed all the more generally in secret, because they
publicly professed, and had made men tolerant and
in matters of faith, if they did not affect the con-
of the church. This mode of thinking may indeed
there have manifested itself in Italy, but among the
nen, the better and worthier class of literati, these
ews sprang from a thorough and profound knowledge
phy, as well as of religion and art, and from a con-
their mutual harmony. Reuchlin's philosophy far
the measure and the limits of common-place ability
non-place views. Isolated portions of it may have
appeared dangerous to the more narrow-minded; but
system is not inconsistent with the Christian faith.
ever, very remote from the views and doctrines of the
ts; on the contrary, it serves as the best proof,
peculiar opinions Reuchlin by no means belonged to
stant party. It was solely because the controversy
oriental languages and philosophy was drawn into
of the Protestant movement, that Reuchlin too was
s considered one of the founders and originators of
mation, which he undoubtedly, without desiring or
it, helped to bring about.
cal accounts of the Reformation usually deduce its
m the sale of indulgences, and the collections of
de in Germany for Rome, and which were piously
to complete the noble church of St. Peter's. To
origin, however, from this or any individual abuse
were simply to stop short at the first outward occa-
s revolution; an abuse that could have been easily
vithout producing such vast consequences, without
bout an event and a commotion, which even without

this accidental occasion would a little sooner or later hav
ensued. Far deeper than in this accidental occasion
real cause of the Reformation to be sought for, and it e
long before this final outbreak occurred. It lay in the
prevailing philosophy, or rather in the neglect and dege
thereof; in philosophy, that is, in the scientific foundat
all higher instruction, and in the inward spirit of publi
nion. At that period, more than ever, was philosoph
basis of all higher education, and in all times has it be
inward spirit and the chief moving agent of public op
and of the prevailing modes of thinking. In the in
domain of philosophy, in the mind of the original thinl
every age, those revolutions are ever first wrought;
modes of thinking have sprung up, which, after they
become for one or more generations generally pre
mould public opinion, and produce effects in the ex
world that are often only too vast and too visible. One
think indeed that philosophy needed not, like other sc
to grow and enlarge with time, that in general it was n
ceptible of change; since the only question then at i
as to the knowledge of the Eternal, which in the sense
own imperfection we call God, in respect to our moral
nies, virtue and justice, in reference to our hopes, the i
tality of the soul. For knowledge like this may be
expressed with infinite variety, but is not capable of an
tion. The great progress and the discoveries, of which
sophy from time to time boasts, are only discoveries
have already been made by others also hundreds and
sands of years before, in other forms, however, and in
language. The manner, however, in which this kno
is expressed, unfolded, and communicated, is of the
importance in respect to general opinion, which sooner
is ever regulated by philosophy. Still more is this th
if the national mind takes a destructive course, and se
in opposition to that knowledge which can alone give
unity and stability to man and to life; or when the
tunity has been neglected for setting aside the noxiou
ence of those destructive opinions, while there is ye
Whenever a state or a creed stands in open or secret op
to the prevailing philosophy, we may be sure that they
gradually undermined, and will succumb to violent revo

the earliest times, from her very origin, was Chris-
ntimately allied even by some of her very first teachers
ilosophy—a certain proof that this alliance was not
al, but essential to Christianity. Even her primitive
ts completed the victory over the belief and the princi-
heathenism chiefly by the superiority of the Christian
hy over the stoic-platonic. How injurious then to
itself must have been that decay and degeneracy of
hy, which, originating in several unfavourable circum-
sank to so low an ebb in the fourteenth and fifteenth
s. These circumstances were the party spirit, that
asily kindled and nourished in great and free univer-
ne discord and the jealousy of the different learned
o whose hands science and education were principally
l. The newly-adopted Roman jurisprudence also had
this philosophic contentiousness. Thus in all Euro-
iversities the prevailing philosophy had degenerated
assionate party spirit, a dialectic wrangling, and empty
m. The better and higher philosophy of some indi-
nd original thinkers, several of whom Germany suc-
y produced, from Albertus Magnus to Reuchlin, could
etrate into the general modes of thinking, nor attain
le dissemination, because the existing system was
dominant. Neither was there wanting the permanent
pposition of a false philosophy alien to God, and
the spirit was undoubtedly opposed to Christianity.
er the true philosophy is neglected, a false one will
ly take its place. More especially after intercourse
med with the East, had infidelity and fanaticism never
o spread, although secretly and under various forms.
before the Reformation a propensity to astrological
tions and to magical arts was very apparent; in these,
nysical knowledge not generally known, and joined to
eliberate deception, exercised an equally injurious influ-
n the public mind and morals. A philosophic adventurer
kind peculiarly distinguished by his intellectual powers,
o, under the name of Dr. Faustus, has become the sub-
popular legend, stood in close connection with many
ial men of the time. He resided in the castle of
von Sickingen, and exercised a great and corrupting
e upon the public mind. The first great attempt like-

wise at a total revolution in the church, that of Arn
Brescia, was entirely the result of a fanatical syst
philosophy. The various heresies and innovations
following centuries prior to the Reformation, all had
origin in philosophy; and even Luther himself was an
far less by the idea of abolishing a few abuses, than
own peculiar views of faith, which he would not ab
and which he ardently sought to enforce.

As Reuchlin's genius and influence may serve to po
the more general and deeper causes of the Reformati
does a character, like Ulric von Hutten's, on the other
account for its rapid diffusion, and the political import
acquired from the very beginning. Soldier and scholar a
he possessed an irresistible and impassioned eloquence,
as an enthusiastic patriot he often directed, not only
the monks, but also against the Turks, the French, or
favourite objects of the kind. Stronger, however, eve
the impression made by his eloquence, was that of his
wit and the social talent, which enabled him to form
nections with all the most refined and important pers
in Germany. His knowledge, like his talents, was
light, agreeable kind, which has so much more gene
influence than that of a severe scientific stamp. In
tion as the prevailing philosophy betrayed its weak
did the admirers of classical literature, upon the
whereof this class had arisen, abandon themselves
to their favourite study. Among the majority of
Humanists, as they were called, there was a decided
for and repugnance to all severer science, a certain fr
free-thinking, aiming merely at outward grace, that w
more dangerous, as the influence of this class of m
so extensive, at a time when Latin was the langu
conversation, as well as of business. An epigram o
ten's would, in a short space of time, be circulated a
in all the capitals of Europe. A somewhat adve
course of life had led him hither and thither over
Europe, and had served only to stimulate still further his
restless spirit; while his courage was prepared to en
any enterprise however hazardous. An accomplished
he had once in combat with four Frenchmen, w
spoken disrespectfully of the emperor, defeated them

a feat which Maximilian rewarded with high marks
r. His pen was still sharper and more daring than
l. When Duke Ulric of Würtenberg killed his
hn von Hutten, his revenge contrived to set every
motion against that powerful foe. This deed of
originated in jealousy of his own wife, by birth a
princess, or more probably in an intrigue with the
he youthful Hutten; the duke urged in his ex-
as a judge of the Vehm-gericht, as one of the
the Secret or Black Tribunal, he had been com-
exercise this act. It may serve to give us a picture
itical anarchy of those times, that a secret society,
l had the audacity, it is true, to summon even an
efore its judgment-seat, and in which the initiated,
lled themselves, treated all the uninitiated as mere
nt non-entities, could have been publicly named in
with such deeds. We see, moreover, that this
e secret league, which may probably have been con-
h older societies of the like kind, strikingly favoured
y in their disputes with the other orders at this time.
Hutten was one of those dangerous characters, that
arise in times of great political ferment, and when
revolution is impending over a nation. He was
e a popular leader, and with all his restless ac-
is indeed the man to set half the world in up-
that time everything in Germany appeared ripe
t political revolution, whereof the repeated risings
santry, the condition of Suabia and Lower Saxony,
he great feuds had well nigh broken out into an
war, fomented, as they were, secretly by France:
l peasants' war, the enterprises of Francis von
, and subsequently the commotions of the Anabap-
r John of Leyden, are to be considered merely as
phenomena. The cause of a revolution like this
gross moral corruption of some classes, while at
time the intellectual and physical energies of the
re unweakened; in the ferment of opinions, in the
spirit of faction, but, above all, in the internal
political and social, of the country. The nobility,
still ever ready to renew their ancient feuds with
y cities, might well feel, that the princes were the

real enemies of their independence and power. W
latter were not without anxiety on account of th
power of the new emperor out of Germany, the nobi
the other hand, as well as the nation in general, were
devoted to the emperor. Had perchance an ambitio
peror cherished the projects which Charles the Fi
accused of with respect to Germany, he need but hav
himself at the head of this nobility, to have respon
a little to the general wishes, in order fully to at
object, and to become an absolute sovereign. Exp
of this kind are betrayed not only by the enterp
Francis von Sickingen, undertaken at first aga
ecclesiastical prince, who was known to favour the
but also by many other occurrences of the time. Ho
Luther relied upon the nobility, and regarded it as
strength, and very kernel of the nation; by what vi
expectations, irrespective of their convictions, the n
trines were calculated to flatter, to win, and to ca
the nobles; all this is clearly seen in Luther's re
work addressed to the German nobility; a work
one of the most important documents for the histor
period, as well as of the internal condition of Germ
was in their political bearings that Hutten regarded
new doctrines and the religious controversies of th
for of Hutten's philosophy, or the sentiments of his
matters of faith, his morals, manners, and writings
by no means the most favourable opinion. He sa
ther's enterprise the germ of a German revolution; a
discord was once enkindled, he employed himself unw
and with all his might, in feeding the fire, and bl
into open flames. The admirable art of printing, con
to its true mission, had been at first applied both in
Germany with honourable rivalry for multiplying th
remains of antiquity and of the middle age, the w
the ancients, and also the great and favourite poems
in the vernacular tongue. Now, however, this ar
men's hands a dangerous instrument, whereby tho
pamphlets might be rapidly scattered among the pe
the peasants' war the ferment broke out precise
opposite quarter to what had been at first expected
ought not to surprise us. When the energy of th

et loose, when the flames of popular passion are ndled, they take their own destructive course, and ey the guiding hand that gave them their first

ne Reformation did not at its very commencement revolution of this kind, we are chiefly indebted to He it was who thus gave permanency to the Re- while Ulric von Hutten, and men like him, rapid diffusion. Had not Luther opposed with all the dangerous errors into which some of his adherents y first fell; had these fanatical doctrines of uni- ality, and of the abolition of all temporal authority superfluous in the new state of things, obtained the d; had the so-called Reformation of faith and of become wholly and entirely a political and national ; in that case, the first shock of civil war would incontestably more terrific and more universal; but probably, when the storm had blown over, have f itself, and a return to the old order of things e ensued. The princes in particular were indebted for having contributed so vigorously to stifle the rebellion; and he must thereby have gained consi- even among those who disapproved of his doctrines edings. His personal character in general was ex- adapted to consolidate and perpetuate his party. energy, which gave him such decided preponder- all who co-operated with him, preserved as much as at all possible in such a state of moral ferment. atever passionate violence Luther may have ex- mself, he nevertheless, in his principles and modes ng, preserved in many points the precise medium necessary to keep his party together as a distinct Had he at the first beginning gone further, had ned the fanaticism adverted to above, the whole uld then have fallen sooner to the ground. The mstance, that he did not at first secede from the ith more than he did, procured him so many and rtant adherents, and gave such strength to his party. ndeniably gifted with great qualities; and all the are obliged to lay to his charge may be comprised gle reproach, that he was possessed with an utterly

unbending self-will and arrogance. Of this even h faithful followers and friends often bitterly complain this one quality of obstinate arrogance everything tha passionate violence, or otherwise, appears censurabl writings, may be traced, and even everything in h liar views of faith that is repugnant to the mild an spirit of Christianity. Whoever would restore the pure form of Christianity must act in its own mild an spirit. Thus did Borromeo and St. Theresa, with strictness, yet still full of love, really reform the Luther's violence, however, was not only without towards his enemies, but even towards his friends religionists, if they did not think exactly like himse expressions he permitted himself to use against King H Eighth appear incredible in our age. His vehemence the Calvinists and against other disciples, who separa him, and whom he seemed to regard as rebellious d exceeded in passionate expression all that he was manifest against the antichrist in Rome, as he wa habit of calling the pope. Even to effect the re abuses and the reform of the ecclesiastical constitut stormy violence was by no means the best course, from the close connection of church and state, all pro ought to have been conducted with extreme forb or the greatest discord would necessarily ensue. Lea through means so violent could the seat of the di removed—could a true reform of philosophy be a that is to say, not only the old philosophy be set asi better substituted in its place, by a man who could great teacher of Alexander as nothing but a damned, dead heathen.

Luther's eloquence made him a man of the pe principles, however, despite his passionate expression remained nevertheless in essentials, both with regard tical subjects and to matters of faith, within certai and joined to that circumstance, the very obstinacy friends complained of consolidated and united the n and gave it permanent strength.

If the personal character of Luther thus essenti tributed to consolidate and give permanency to the n as a distinct party, that of Melancthon, who, afte

red as the head of the Protestants, appeared excel-
ted to prevent a total schism (if there was still any
of doing so), and to restore the troubled unity of
Europe. It was the hope of numberless well-
en, as well as of the greatest statesmen, who were
or the public welfare, that this undoubtedly arduous
uld be accomplished by Melancthon, so calm an
nd such a gentle-minded man, whom even his
gionists often reproached with too great pliancy.
empt for restoring unity once more, and for effect-
rm instead of a schism in the church, the emperor
e Fifth, in the latter half of his life, devoted his
vided energies; and in this he was responded to on
ide by the most respected individual among the
s. Was this attempt necessarily idle? Was the
lly inevitable? In cases like these we generally
rding to the result; but this is unreasonable. In
lf the schism was not inevitable, a reunion was
le. Luther's peculiar doctrine of the non-freedom
was in part abandoned by his successors, in part so
changed, that on this cardinal point an agreement
nearly effected. The innovations in regard to the
tes connected with the sacred mysteries of Chris-
re undoubtedly of great importance; for by the
r alteration of these, the custom of the ancient
as interrupted. But as the matter most essential—
ition of the mystery itself—was admitted by the
s (with the exception of the Zwinglian party), a
on might have been possible on this point likewise.
rnal differences had neither appeared an obstacle to
of the Greek and Roman churches, nor rendered
tion of peace impossible after the Hussite troubles.
esiastical property, and the relations of the church
te and the constitution, an understanding might
been come to, if peace had been generally desired;
here externals of the church affected not the essence
h. That Adrian the Sixth was snatched so early
orld; that the emperor and the ecclesiastical power
always in concert; that Melancthon's sentiments,
were not those predominant among the Protestants;
tempt at conciliation was in the first instance frus-

trated by political circumstances, and afterwards w
too late, when the schism had already attained
prescription, and become habitual; all this, toget
accidental circumstances, gave to the Reformation th
issue which it actually had, and which at the outset
far from being foreseen. It may, indeed, be true
higher sense nothing in the world's history is acciden
everything we term chance, as it is passing before
is in a more comprehensive and loftier view to be re
a mysterious providence; and thus we shall rea
thankfully acknowledge, that the Reformation also
sequently had beneficial effects on the developme
human mind. Had the Reformation not produ
effects—had it not been designed to produce the
would it have happened. But blame not therefore
emperor, who lavished so many efforts and well-
his life upon that work of peace; for those subsequ
ficial results that now reconcile us to the passing ana
to the schism itself, were then still veiled in the da
the future. But what every one endowed with
political and worldly knowledge foresaw with certa
could, without the gift of prophecy, foresee, was wha
ensued, namely, that Europe, for a century at lea
longer, would be torn to pieces by bloody civil war
may man anticipate Providence; else were an apol
at hand for every one who, from weakness or ambiti
the stream of corruption. Man must hearken o
voice of honour, of justice, and of love, and hence
rally feel that he is summoned to wage an endle
against evil. Whatever good may arise one da
God's will out of evil, man must leave to God a
future.

All that Charles foresaw and that weighed upo
was now finally ordained; the total schism had be
long consummated in men's minds before it was
pronounced for the outward world also by the
Trent. If the teaching of this synod in opposi
new doctrines could be nought else than a confirma
ancient faith; if more was effected at Trent for th
ecclesiastical discipline and for the removal of
abuses and failings, than could have been well expe

ces so difficult; yet the real root of the evil was
ed, and indeed could scarcely be removed by an
al council. The concord between philosophy and
ian faith, which had been interrupted, was not
ned; even the organization of scientific institu-
the constitution of the universities and ecclesias-
orations, to whose hands the higher scientific
was intrusted, were not radically reformed; the
ne evil was left intact. The abuse of philosophy
m of thought, which had produced so much intel-
cord and such unhappy consequences, now led to
te evil—to the shackling and the suppression of
cal inquiry. The mere suppression of a false
, of the abuse of freedom of thought, where the
plucked up by the roots, where something better is
tuted in its place, will ever produce a still more
dangerous reaction. This reaction, accordingly, has
y ensued, and has stretched its wide-spread in-
en over the revolutions of our own days.

LECTURES XIII. & XIV.

ORY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH.

nisunderstood is the ordinary lot of true greatness.
nary energy and activity, directed towards the
e of mere vulgar, grasping, and selfish views, are
sily apprehended and universally admired. Cæsar
e admirers among the multitude than Alexander,
he former was coldly calculating and the latter
ic. This misunderstanding, however, still more
occurs when extraordinary energies and activity
ed exclusively by great ideas, and, in order to carry
strive oftener to battle with the world than to
of it; when the deep sense of the magnitude of the
ught after produces a certain inequality in outward

the many contradictory, unfavourable opinions, or
ast as are far beneath the true dignity and greatness of

the mighty emperor Charles the Fifth. The calun hatred and prejudice have obtained such currency, eve our own times, only because all men have not se feeling for the ideas and actions of a spirit so far above the ordinary standard. To judge, moreover, c the workings of his mind requires a minute and com sive knowledge of his age, because he took part in mixed up with all its great events and occurrences; too, that was one of the most complicated and eve the annals of mankind.

Fortune had lavished favours upon Charles even b was of sufficient age to act for himself; either absol in almost sure expectancy, she had accumulated u brow the noblest crowns of Europe, in order to f matchless heritage. In the destinies, however, that passed his boyhood and youth, there was also much sorrowful, much that threatened danger. His father the Fair, a chivalrous, noble-minded, well-meaning but passionate and wholly devoted to pleasure, who short enjoyment of his beautiful kingdom, was snat a premature death from the hopes and the lov faithful Castilians, committed Charles, still a child guardianship of strangers. Both the grandfathers latter, Maximilian and Ferdinand the Catholic of lived for the most part estranged from each other. jealousy had thrown his grandmother Joanna into a melancholy, which, on the death of her husband, te in a silent imbecility, that rendered her indifferent an sible to everything save anxiety and tenderness for body of her husband, which she carried about with h bier and watched over with jealous care. The brother of Charles was educated abroad in Spain, an first capricious disposition of his grandfather, as w the love of some Spanish grandees, had been de inherit the Spanish throne. This circumstance m converted into anxious and distrustful reserve the love of the youthful Charles towards that very Fe who afterwards in all state affairs and perils eve himself his most faithful friend. Even his two tut learned Adrian, who was afterwards pope, and Ch Flemish statesman, the former of whom initiated Ch

of knowledge, and the latter into the world of
were by no means in unison, and from their very
entiments exerted the most diverse influence upon
ful mind. All these circumstances necessarily tended
his character, so that he, who by nature was like
predisposed to all knightly exercises and martial
as nevertheless early distinguished by his rare
and thoughtful gravity. The portrait of him,
y fifteen years of age, taken by a great German
ars this expression of thoughtfulness, feeling, and
ction. As Charles's likeness was taken by a
nd at almost every stage of his life, it is interesting
e the transition in these different portraits, to see
that regularly formed and beautiful face the world
ploughed deeper and deeper the furrows of thought
v.

reat were the causes for anxiety and for vigilant
to himself, his own position, and the state of the
ich Charles had to encounter on his arrival in
That kingdom even then contained all that smoulder-
which so soon broke out into a terrible conflagration.
il nobility, but recently familiarized with a firm
f the royal power, a free constitution, rich and
ties, parties of various kinds irritated and inflamed
and's severity, even by Ximenes' well-intended
towards the cities, by his wholesome but still
rcement of the law, and by Ferdinand the Catho-
gement from Philip and Maximilian. There was,
a favourable opportunity for each party to set up,
colour of right, a government opposed to that of
king, either in the person of his younger brother
(who in an earlier testament of his grandfather
onstituted heir), or in the name of the queen-
nna, as her incompetency to reign, despite her state
oly, did not seem yet to have been legally proved
1. Among other things, Charles has been severely
with ingratitude towards Ximenes. This charge
dmitted if the circumstances had occurred some
; but we must in fairness judge by a different
e actions of a youth of seventeen, who had just
ssion of a foreign kingdom in a situation of such

extraordinary difficulty. Those who surrounded Cha
have been much interested in preventing an interview
him and Ximenes. Who could tell what impression
conversation with the high-minded and aged statesma
have made upon his youthful soul; how much those
possessed chief influence and authority with him
boyhood up might have thereby lost? The same
applies to the abuse, which the Flemings may at fi
made of their influence in a wealthy and foreign cou
Spain. Early, too, as Charles attended to affairs
much as he subsequently looked into everything
judged and decided for himself, it was nevertheless
teristic of him to learn by degrees only to act alon
follow his own judgment. He was equally a strang
despotic wilfulness of those youthful princes, who,
attaining sovereignty, first learn the extent of t
powers by abusing them, and the weakness of t
readily surrender themselves and their kingdom
guidance of others. *Nondum* was his noble mo
in the tournament at Valladolid, he astonished all
tators by his dexterity and skill in knightly sp
felt equally conscious of the eminence he might atta
his not having yet attained it. Studious, laborious,
ful had he been from his youth up, but it needed tir
him confidence in his own judgment, and to render
pendent.

The first act we can regard as his own, as the c
ment of his history and his reign, is the resolution
quit Spain in order personally to assume the imper
tendered to him in Germany. He carried out this
against the advice and warning of many of his mo
councillors. It was plain that the political ferme
would come to an outbreak; but Germany likewise
of him, and summoned him impatiently. For ce
election had been so great and important, none rec
all Europe as pregnant with such mighty con
Charles had borne off the victory from the pow
Francis the First, so illustrious for his martial fam
newly-elected emperor came quickly to fill the offic
upon him, it might become once more in his han
formerly had been, namely, the highest charge and

Christendom. But if he delayed, if the hopes which placed in him once vanished, the opportunity would irn, the imperial crown would at a blow lose all power tance. Charles was summoned into the lists of fame; ed the summons undismayed, regardless of the dan- were lowering around him. He left Spain in a state on, where the political storm had well nigh already t; in Germany the great contest of the age awaited n,—a contest on which, in anxious expectation, the ll nations, of the whole contemporary world, were l which to this day often arrests the attention of At the very time he left Spain, and entered upon l vaster theatre, the intelligence reached him that new and vast empire in another hemisphere, had uered in his name. Impressions like these it was ily ripened the youth of twenty years into the man, lded the sovereign, that developed in him the o embrace a world within the scope of his under- nd of his care, and in his heart the strength to tranquil composure, the pressure from the world From this time forth, as well in his public, histo- r, as in the more private memorials of his industry, remark the stirring energy and the clearness of herewith he unweariedly transacted all the affairs ire, that comprehended so many nations, and such jects, down to the moment when, weary of the bowed down by sickness and by sorrow, he with- a holy solitude.

s the entrance of Charles upon the world of poli- . We shall now proceed to examine the period of is struggles with the world, the ideas that guided, s that distinguished him, the projects, the enemies, and servants, that he had. We shall briefly the most important occurrences of his reign, until, protracted struggle, he took leave of the world in as conformable with his inmost feelings as it was is character.

e first great transaction in his reign, the Diet of s warfare against the world and against his age o idea seems then to have inspired him so much as ring, like his ancestor Maximilian, with all soli-

citude for domestic peace, the pristine lustre of the i
dignity. The strife of opinions and of creeds, h
already well nigh amounted to civil war, and challen
whole attention. He lent a willing ear to the inves
of the new doctrines, as long as he believed that the
regarded a reform of the church (such as all well-
men desired), and a restoration of the purer spirit o
tianity. But he no sooner saw that a total change
ancient eternal faith was looked for, that the unit
church was menaced, than he formed an irrevocable
tion, and then ensued the outlawry of Luther.
decree could not be fully executed, it was regarde
certain signal of many bloody wars. They would
less have ensued, if the emperor had wavered in his
What herein alone is censurable is, that Luther was
to appear at all at the diet; that a controversy of f
converted into a national affair; for thereby did the
reach a pitch so dangerous. This, however, it was n
possible to alter; the steps taken could not now be
it was too late; the princes desired the measure,
whole nation demanded it, and had already long c
and wished to treat the subject as a general nation
It was an inevitable evil. Charles was resolved
the ancient faith and the ancient constitution; but
sionate zeal ever transported him beyond the bound
tice. Thus, when the elector of Brandenburg ur
with all the plausible reasons which, according to
modes of thinking, might have had weight, to arrest
despite the safe-conduct he had given to him, he
faithfully to his sense of honour and to his word.

The lofty notion of the imperial office, which rev
in the state-papers written by Charles, merely refer
dignity, glory, and its high mission, and not to
power at home, or love of conquest abroad. This i
shown by his policy in the affairs of Germany a
Often has it been remarked that Charles could ha
taken advantage of the troubles in Germany at that
augmenting his own power. The whole nation clun
the nobility and the cities were hostile to the princes
princes were disunited among themselves. The Pr
moreover, despite Luther's outlawry, and the law

ves, which, it is true, were not fully enforced, and
ot attributed by them to Charles himself, but to the
e of others, were not altogether hostile to the em-
they still continued to rely on him. The nobility
holly devoted to him, and Sickingen, upon whom all
re turned, as upon the hero of the nation in this time
ple and danger, would have achieved and ventured all
or the emperor. The emperor might have augmented
ver immeasurably, if he had simply resolved, under
text of church reform, to reduce the ecclesiastical
of Germany to the rank which the bishops occupied
r Christian states; and he might withal have still
l the power to retrace a few of his steps at the oppor-
ment, so as to avoid a total rupture with the church.
h ambitious profiting of unquiet times, such a dis-
for ancient obligations and for legitimate possession,
nce entered into the mind of Charles. Sickingen acted
wn account and fell; with him fell the chief strength
pe of the nobility. Of all the self-willed heroes and
of Germany, he was the most sincerely devoted to the
; and it is doubtful, if any of the others, on realiz-
r ambitious schemes, would have designed, or accom-
so much as he, for the greatness of Germany. What
nensive views he entertained in carrying on his enter-
s shown by many proofs. Even in the peasants'
n active part was taken by many nobles, who could
plead, like Götz von Berlichingen, that they had
nder compulsion. The first demands of the peasants
ot unjust; and hence it is here difficult to decide how
he above-mentioned participation of the nobles is to
ibuted to accident, to well-meaning intentions, or to
g ambition. As the whole affair speedily took a
l turn, and the issue was unfortunate, this circum-
was forgotten; and (as always happens in such cases)
ure of the attempt produced a totally opposite re-
The power of the princes was strengthened in con-
ce of the unhappy issue of the first attempt for
freedom, and doubly so among the Protestants,
n the confiscation of the bishopries. Thus was laid
t spark of that war among the German princes, which,
ne troubles of the earlier period had quickly blown

over, lay smouldering for well nigh a whole gen
until at last it burst out into an open conflagration.

As protector of Germany, as king of Spain, and so
of the two Sicilies, Charles was called upon, in t
place, to wage war against the Turks and the for
Solyman. As emperor, he conceived himself bound to
a legal resistance to the religious innovators; and
French king was to be added, as the third and most da
enemy of all. Francis the First, although not choo
first openly to declare war in his own name, began it
most odious manner, both by secretly instigating and
ing the troubles in Germany, and by taking advan
the popular rising in Spain, in order to invade
This latter step, however, produced the opposite effec
democratic character, which the revolt of the Spanis
assumed from the very outset, had already induced th
to take part with the king; and this French invasi
aroused the whole nation, which, of itself, and by
energies, crushed their tumults, and restored order.
return to Spain, Charles proved that he merited th
fortune by the magnanimity he displayed towards th
had taken part in these disturbances.

From that moment he appears to have wholly ga
love of the Spaniards, and rarely has a people retain
devoted attachment to their king. He is to be consi
the real founder of Spanish greatness, as the creator
of the material power, but of that moral energy and g
to which the Spanish nation was by and through him
Isabella and Ximenes had prepared the way for him,
very tumults we have adverted to prove how little the
constitution and Spanish modes of thinking were at t
moulded into any very fixed or satisfactory form. F
many, for Italy, for Europe, Charles, as emperor,
champion of the ancient faith, of the ancient cons
and the champion too of justice. As king of Spain, h
he proved by many admirable institutions, quite ada
the genius of the nation, that besides the courage to
old institutions, he was by no means wanting in ene
intellect to originate and found new ones, when his
of action was unimpeded, when he was amid a nation t
of one mind and one heart with himself. As the

he turn that the popular rising in Spain had taken,
orth, we cannot exactly say, favoured, but at least
and loved the nobility. He thus came to inspire the
obles with that high moral spirit, which even in the
Philip the Second, when their degeneracy began to be
e, reflected such lustre on the Spanish monarchy,
ely any other nation could then compete with the
in high-minded feeling.

ll the favour he evinced towards the nobles, yet
as far from being disposed to crush the third estate,
or to encroach on the free constitution of Spain,
he contrary he upheld, although sometimes suffering
thereby, and indeed in respect to parliamentary
ain may be considered at that time as the freest
in Europe. It is undeniable that Charles grew
more attached to Spain, and at last loved it the
e was not however thereby alienated from Germany,
n in his last touching farewell he called his country,
o him, as of old to so many of her heroes and great
had been no grateful country. From the vast scope
es, all of which he strove to fulfil with equal con-
ess, it was Charles's fate to encounter the most con
reproaches. Thus while in Germany he was described
ty, stern Spaniard, the Spaniards complained of his
ermany, and his frequent journeys thither.

irst war with France, fortune favoured Charles so
at the very time when his empire was being en-
yond the seas, when the gold-mines of the new
become his, his heroic generals brought the French
m as a captive, and he saw himself, to all outward
e at least, the master of Europe, whom nothing
could resist. This outward semblance his enemies
knew but too well how to profit by. This glorious
owed, it is true, not to himself, but to the martial
whom he had around him so many. But we must
absolutely a portion of his fame, looking to the
rse of his life, that everywhere, as well in war as
ffairs, by sea and by land, he was encompassed by
men, that he knew how to appreciate their value,
them, to gather them around him, and to attach
is service. How very different it was with King

Francis the First, whose very panegyrists must allo
while he often lent an ear to incompetent favour
grudged his real generals a victory, and felt even pe
content on such occasions. Charles honoured great
appreciated their qualities, and thereby attached t
himself. It was one of the noblest victories of all
gained over Francis, when he deprived him of Bou
once the first of his vassals and one of the best ge
the age, and subsequently of the great Doria. Bourb
which was almost necessitated by the violent step
against him, if it cannot be altogether justified, ma
palliated, and moreover must not be judged by the prin
public law subsequently established; it must, on the c
be judged according to the then existing relations of t
vassals. In no case can Charles be censured for having
himself of this circumstance, since Francis had turned
him very different, and indeed all and every imaginabl
and advantages. The German princes were also at t
still vassals of the emperor, and hence although their
with the French king might be rightly considered as
of unpatriotic sentiment, yet it could not be regarded
treason. In the description and judgment of the reign
Francis the First, an error is usually committed, whi
uncommon in the estimate formed of distinguished ch
We regard them too much as retaining their unifo
every period; we form an image of the character in
striking epoch, and then regard this as the charact
without taking into account the changes which it m
undergone in the course of its development. Undoub
youthful hero, who was the first to vanquish the S
then esteemed invincible, and who was dubbed a k
the battle-field by his faithful Bayard, gives a fine
the young king, and a still greater lustre also is reflec
him from Bayard, and from the French nobility in gen
distinguished for such chivalrous virtues. In his su
career, however, in vain do we seek for the rea
of those brilliant traits. Francis belonged to a not
class of characters, who shoot up and blossom r
their first youth, then wither, and deceive the h
excited. The inactivity of his later life, the disorg
of the internal administration of his kingdom, the

nother, now of a mistress, or a favourite, over the
state affairs, the many immoral traits and unjust
ated cases, the spirit of disorder in his general con-
a singular contrast to the moral strength and the
of contemporary Spain, to the restless activity of
nd the calm dignity which reigned in everything
m. Francis the First followed the example of
ie Eighth and Lewis the Twelfth, who aimed at
g the greatness of their kingdom by distant con-
not by domestic ameliorations. It was the latter,
which France at that period most needed, and by
ued neglect thereof, she sank so low at the end of
th century, as to be on the brink of ruin. Perpetual
exhausted that great country, abounding in such
s it did, and yet by all these wars King Francis the
unable to wrest anything from Charles, and only
in becoming a permanent obstacle to all the mighty
he planned for the well-being of all the nations of
The conduct of Francis the First at the treaty of
hen he took a solemn oath, confirmed by his word
as a knight, with the secret reservation and prede-
n to violate both, none of his panegyrists have yet
oldness to cite as praiseworthy. Charles here fell
error of striking out upon a middle path, on an
hen state policy absolutely required him to choose
o decided courses—either to retain the king in
and by the confusion which would be thereby
France, to secure himself from all danger in that
ever, or else to make Francis wholly his friend by
magnanimity; but of this, however, from the rela-
erto existing between them, there was but little
is was the greatest political error that Charles ever
, and he felt its injurious consequences for the re-
f his life. In vain was he warned by the faithful
ious Gattinara, who even refused to sign a treaty
foresaw would not be observed. Charles appears to
l wholly upon Francis's word of honour as a knight,
he future, to have reckoned upon the king's alliance
nora. He may also have been convinced of the justice
aims even in respect to the duchy of Burgundy.
edings of Charles the Eighth, of Lewis the Twelfth,

and Francis the First, against Maximilian, Philip, and C
had been one unbroken chain of wrongs, of treaties art
violated, and promises unredeemed, and hence it is n
prising that Charles should appeal to ancient righ
claims, which had been often reserved.

Had King Francis observed the peace, and had he
into an alliance with Charles against the Turks, h
then incontestably have expected every sacrifice fr
latter. But to judge from his character, the moti
urged Francis the First to undertake such repeated w
not so much avarice or regret at any losses, but ra
excessively mortified ambition. For, as his panegyrist
that he could not behold the successes of his generals
envy, we may easily conceive how much his deep hur
at Pavia must have wounded and agitated him.
was naturally and from the first so little disposed
with France, that we may on the contrary say, tha
an hereditary principle of the Austro-Burgundian
avoid a war at all costs with that country, and by
tions, leagues, and family alliances, to preserve a
understanding with the royal house of France. Eve
milian and Philip the Fair had already acted on these pr
As often as these alliances were dissolved on the Fre
they were nevertheless renewed on the Austro-Bur
It was still a matter of recent recollection, that when
the Eighth had broken off his betrothment with M
Philip the Fair, who was particularly well disposed
French, again negotiated a double family alliance, in
draw closer the understanding between the French
Austro-Burgundian houses; and that when Claudia
who had been promised to Charles, was given to
duke d'Angoulême, subsequently King Francis the I
union with the younger sister Renata was nevertheles
afterwards agreed to. Charles the Fifth likewise
this principle; for when he united his beloved sister
to Francis, he indisputably meditated a lasting allian
cause of this early adopted pacific system was in
place to be looked for in the wishes of the Netherlan
were always the first to feel the disadvantageous ef
French war. The second cause was the idea, ex
especially by Charles, that all Christian nations sh

uropean republic, or family as it were, wherein all
ould be decided by law; or at least, if war were
le, it should yet be carried on with forbearance, as a
hivalrous combat, while the full strength of the
Europe, should be exclusively concentrated in
hostilities against their hereditary foes—the Ma-
Hence the stipulation repeated in almost every
peace, that Francis should make common cause
mperor against the Turks. This idea must not be
ven in the famous challenge he sent to Francis; a
which, according to the manners of those times,
o strange as it would be to ours. He was incon-
earnest in sending it. Charles was by dispo-
on principle pacific, and slow to take offence; but
ed and irritated, he was like an angry lion. Long-
injuries only, attacks repeatedly renewed, impelled
or to adopt other principles and to form serious
on the interior of France. Such designs would not
ined without effect, if England, instead of a
Henry the Eighth, wholly bent upon establishing
at home, and incapable of any great views, had
ssed a warlike Edward, or a Henry the Fifth, and
ad not been compelled, in opposition to so many
it his strength.
one of those characters which, because they are
nd outwardly calm, are esteemed cold. Yet it is
sely the noblest and deepest feelings that recede
rface and hide themselves from the world, so that
ard bearing of the person, understanding, mode-
l dignity alone hold sway. Vehement as Charles
me, if he were once driven by repeated attacks
vonted self-command, he was yet invariably pla-
e proved by his repeated treaties of peace with
He would readily have made great sacrifices, if
uld only have united with him in his great enter-
the general security and peace of Europe, or have
to throw obstacles in his way. This among other
ces we see by the last treaty he concluded with
hen stood as conqueror, within two days' march of
re every one was in flight; yet he offered the most
us terms, and would have granted a considerable

portion of the Netherlands, or even Milan—the
tested Milan—to one of the sons of the French k
would not further oppose him in his endeavours
peace and order in Germany, and would but ent
sincere alliance. It might not perhaps have been
to push the successes he had gained too far; but Ch
still decidedly the advantage, and in no case need h
such great sacrifices.

Of all the censures uttered against Charles, the
gular is, perhaps, that on the repeated invitati
French king and of his sister, he relied so far upon
honour as to risk travelling through his domi
ought rather to astonish us that the possibility o
the law of nations and the king's word could
openly discussed in the French court, and tha
actually required all his calm composure while h
there, in order to resist many an unseemly and im
demand. How much dignity and delicacy were di
the answer he made to the king, when the latter
the duchess d'Estampes to him, with these word
this lady, too, counsels me to keep you here."
counsel be good, it ought to be followed," replie
This quiet reproof, undoubtedly, expressed delic
plainly what the emperor must have felt at this spe
French monarch.

Francis was an enemy that wearied Charles, alt
latter always had the advantage in war; he thw
impeded him in his operations, and this was the more
because Charles really wished to be at peace with
very different and more formidable foe was Solym
of noble personal qualities. Solyman had mounted
of the Osmanlis at the same time that Charles ente
great theatre of history at the deliberations of his
diet. Solyman was wholly inspired with the love
he read Cæsar's Commentaries translated into his
guage; he withheld from Charles the title of emp
lord of the Byzantine capital, he would himself
emperor and master of the world; as there was bu
and one sun in the heavens, so could there be bu
upon earth. He felt no repugnance to learning and th
and was moreover tolerant. Being on one occasio

e and extirpate the Christians and the Jews from
he pointed to a blooming garden lying before him,
if it was not the very variety of flowers and plants
it so beautiful and magnificent? Nevertheless,
ered by love or any other passion, he could be
towards his own relatives. Of what avail too was
sultan's sentiments were nobler and milder, when
f the Turkish state and people in respect to the
still remained at that period wholly fanatic, and
of carrying on war utterly barbarous, so that the
then rightly considered as the general foes of the
ropean world, and of mankind itself. Such was
lief and judgment of all European nations. It
ery unreasonable in us to transport back to those
the subsequent relations which have sprung up
mmencement of the eighteenth century between
and the Christians of Europe. Of this the French
lf was so well aware, that he scarcely ventured
cknowledge his alliance with the Turks. According
existing law of nations, and in the circumstances of
it was undoubtedly, what it was universally con-
hat age, an act of treachery towards the general
d well-being of the European commonwealth.
claims to the imperial dignity, Solyman meditated
conquering, not Vienna only, but Germany also.
ew up a barrier at least against these pretensions
npaign in Hungary, although no decisive battle
he retreat of the great Turkish army left the
so decidedly on the side of Charles, that he had
pursue it, and to profit to the utmost of these
circumstances. He yielded very unwillingly to the
ions of the other generals, who were better
with the nature of the country and the difficulties
erprise. As sovereign, Charles was mild and
out as general, on the contrary, he was always dis-
he most daring, nay the most perilous decisions.
pe been tranquil, had Germany at least been
tory would have had a glorious spectacle to point
, Charles in battle with a foe worthy of him.
e consider exaggerated the expectations of one of
generals, the famous marquis de Guasto, who

believed that everything must be reconquered
Turks which had been lost since the time of G
Bouillon; yet Hungary at least would have been
liberated, Germany and Austria secured beforehand
many desolating inroads of the Turkish power. The
explanation why nothing further could be accomplish
quarter may perhaps be found in the following ane
When Charles was forced to fly from Inspruck b
rebellious Maurice, the German horsemen who com
escort told him candidly, that if he would only yield i
to religious matters, the Germans would give him
wherewith to conquer Constantinople. "At that price
Charles, "I would not have the whole of Europe."
pression was by no means exaggerated. Germany
so strong, that, united, she would not only have been
to any other military power of Europe, but also fully
the Turkish.

That Charles was born a great general was una
recognised by his contemporaries. This he proved
by his intrepidity in every situation of danger, but,
by the presence of mind and the calm survey of
scene of action, which he displayed on the day
Educated in pacific habits and in state business
seemed in the decisive moment to love danger,
enthusiasm from the greatness of the moment; neve
lose the clear self-collectedness peculiar to him,
always disposed to give the preference to the bol
sures. By this chiefly was he distinguished from
generals who surrounded him. Thus he it was that
the victory at Tunis really complete and glorious;
on his failure at Algiers, storm and tempest had des
fleet, ruined his arms, and scattered his army, he
it was who remained the most intrepid of all, wh
all with courage, was everywhere at hand with
sharing all the sufferings, all the privations of the
soldier, shrinking from no danger, was almost the l
the coasts of the barbarians. This enterprise aga
and the pirate-states of Africa was more immediat
site to protect the Spanish and Italian coasts;
also of great importance for the freedom of all
offer a strenuous resistance to the naval power of

rks longer retained the sovereignty of the Medi-
Sea, southern Italy would have probably fallen
nds. Charles raised the maritime power of Spain
tch, that it was able, under his successor, in one
ttle, to wrest the dominion of the seas for ever
rks. This victory was as necessary and essential
om of Europe as resistance to this people by land.
mportance of the African coasts to the welfare of
les, like Ximenes (all whose zeal, under a like
had been formerly directed to this quarter), was
mpressed, that even in the retirement of his latter
elligence of a loss sustained there by the Spaniards
his mind and aggravated his sickness.

l affable as he was to all men, he knew also how
ove of his soldiers in particular; he mingled con-
mong them, joined in their labours, was called
nem, and unboundedly loved, although he strictly
litary discipline where justice and necessity de-
Boundless was the devotion of his great generals
n, and herein he was peculiarly fortunate. Pes-
on, and Frondsberg, in his earlier days, Doria,
marquis de Guasto, and above all, Alba, formed
heroes around him, such as history at any period
xhibit. The gold-mines of Peru and Mexico were
ne when no longer an arrière-ban existed, nor any
scription was introduced by law; when the volun-
served for pay alone; when money was required
maintain an army, but even in the first instance
ne. Qualified by such great gifts and advantages
neral, nay, a conqueror, he, whom his enemies
iming at universal monarchy, retained merely the
d inherited, without making, by force of arms, a
t conquest, or even any one of the slightest im-
Europe. He appeared not to account the fame,
Christian nation may acquire in warfare against
a thing desirable. He only took part in war
with all his heart, when it was waged against
y foes of Spain and the German nation, and of
urope in general. When at Tunis he restored,
thousand Christian slaves to freedom and to their
reclaimed that that alone was worth the campaign
even gain nothing more.

In Spain alone did Charles the Fifth achieve all
at. The ceaseless warfare with France prevented
general, at that time, from resisting more energet
attacks of the Turks. In Germany, the most ardu
the struggles he had to encounter awaited the emper
his great exertions in behalf of this country did not
remain without beneficial effects, he, nevertheless,
accomplishing his designs. In Italy he effected s
if not all that could be desired, yet as much as
circumstances of the time was still practicable.

Since Philip-le-Bel had shackled the libertie
church, and a perpetual approximation to despo
become at the French court an established
of government, that country was a dangerous
for Germany, a source of disquiet and difficult
Europe, and a cause of political distraction in It
continued pacific system of the Austro-Burgund
was hence perhaps blameable; as from this love of
most favourable opportunities for utterly rooting ou
were often neglected, and in every fresh treaty th
future wars and troubles was still left. From th
Lewis the Eleventh it was easy to recognise th
system of French policy for what it was, the sourc
of every evil and every misfortune in Europe. S
regarded in the estimation of several sovereigns;
they too often preferred the course of a mild and
opposition to more decided measures. Then only
have been possible to defend Christian Europe wi
and secure it against outward attacks, when peace
cord were restored within its bosom, and the gerr
were removed. So much had this love of peace wi
become a family principle of the Austro-Burgund
that even many of the princesses belonging to it,
distinguished by their great talents for governme
the elder Margaret, and likewise the sister of Ch
self, were guided by it, and zealously endeavoured
conformity therewith. Judging from the result, m
may be disposed to censure this untimely love of p
Austro-Burgundian house, yet we must not forget
and noble idea whereon it was based. This idea w
a confederacy of Christian states, and of a concil

all international disputes, determined by treaties and
f honour, together with a family alliance between
ruling dynasties in Europe, which to that end
r to be drawn more and more closely together.
l be readily acknowledged by all who possess a
nowledge of the history, the character, and the
s of that age, it is not easy to conceive a greater mis-
falling Europe, than the actual realization in full of
xtensive and deep-laid schemes of the despotic Lewis
nth, the conquest-loving Charles the Eighth, and the
nch kings, who, capricious as they were in dealing
ies, had ever one uniform object in view. But, it
aid, was not then the wide-spread influence of
he Fifth, was not the kind of sovereignty which,
l opposition, he still maintained over the greater
urope, likewise contrary to general freedom, and to
endence of nations? Was it not equally injurious
nant to the true ideal of a confederate Christian
ealth of the western nations, based upon justice, as
ion of the kings of France could possibly have
they succeeded in accomplishing their object?
vho take their point of departure from the abstract
e state, of a public polity and of a nation, are but too
ined to regard this as a wholly isolated entity, exist-
elf alone. But neither a state nor a nation has ever
such isolation. The history of the world teaches,
eds but a little reflection to perceive, that some
int is necessary in an aggregate of states and nations,
e those of Europe, have stood for centuries in an
e so close, so complex, geographically and morally
le and indispensable,—some central point, whence a
irecting influence may radiate over the whole body.
s not whether such influence shall exist, for it ever
l, and ever will do so; but of what nature it shall
om and how it shall be exercised, this problem it is
uires solution; this it is whereon the freedom of the
y politic depends, and which is worth the utmost
f the noblest minds. By its own nature the im-
emacy, if it is allowable, in the language of the
es, thus to call that supreme influence over the free
of Christian states—an influence defined and

moulded as it was by religious and moral principle
jects—the true imperial supremacy, in this sense of t
age, was in its own essence by no means an encroac
the general freedom of Europe, or a form of injust
false imperial supremacy, however, that suprema
does not proceed from, which is not based upon mor
ligious ideas, but upon the dead mechanism of m
despotism, is indeed the greatest misfortune which
mankind. During the older period of the Christi
in the middle age, this form of government was o
trary extremely propitious to general freedom ;
many defects and failings, no period was so favoura
to the development of all the peculiar energies o
life, or so far remote from any kind of universal
It was Germany which possessed and exercised thi
influence over the European commonwealth ; but
many alone ; joined with her were Italy and the pe
tremely favourable to the general freedom likewise
very quality of the two chief powers in Christen
were so intimately connected, were mutually based
other, were so closely related, and yet withal indep
one another. In this system, individual acts of despo
as those which the Hohenstaufen, especially, too c
mitted, were, it is true, possible, but no thoroughl
constitution. Even the most violent, the most
emperors, were unable permanently to enslave or o
head of the church, because the authority of the lat
a totally different sphere, inaccessible to them, and
faith and public opinion ; and by this very circumst
authority was in itself a bulwark of general freedom
now, that protectorate, by which Europe had be
guided, had lost much of its ancient strength and
ation. Europe and Germany felt, with the Turk
querors pressing upon them, that Maximilian mus
successor, who might once more be emperor, and
emperor in the old sense of the word. The scales f
till at last the great election decided in favour of C
favour of Germany and Spain. Without seeking
mine whether this decision was right, by mere perso
tional considerations or predilections, a very simple
applicable to all ages, may perhaps best serve to g

The ruling influence over Europe, which an abso-
espotic monarchy may possess and exercise, will be
absolutely monarchical or despotic. The influence
republic would exert upon the European common-
ould be also republican in this sense, that it is disposed
and support the smaller and weaker states and
gainst the more powerful; an attempt which, if suc-
nds to a greater subdivision of states and nations, and,
e, leads directly to the total subjugation of the smaller
their incorporation with the larger. The influence
y a federative state, free as to its representative sys-
tate which is itself a union of confederate states and
ke Austria under Charles the Fifth—will in like man-
a federative kind, that is to say, bound by public law,
ustice (setting aside special exceptions), naturally
o peace, and where personal motives do not interpose,
conducive to freedom. This principle may perhaps
to test the true value, for the welfare of Europe, of
nderating influence of Austria, France, and England,
that period and in modern times strove for mastery,
ed alternately the upper hand. It need not be
t how utterly inappropriate is the expression *uni-*
narchy, selected by his enemies, for that species of
which Charles, as emperor, as king of Spain, and as
of Italy, undoubtedly exercised in Europe, and was
o maintain. Those only to whom the idea of a true
supremacy—of a just, mild European influence, cal-
protect freedom and benefit mankind, was utterly
ecause they knew nothing, wished for nothing, but
y selfish policy of dissimulation and covetousness
nd unlimited despotism at home; those, and those
l thus distort a high moral idea. They adopted as
their own spirit of iniquity, and attributed it to
n of international relations. How far and in what
Austria, as it then existed under Charles the Fifth
nand the First, was to be called a federative state,
noreover intended by the former to remain so by
of the Spanish and German lines, will best appear
st scheme of Charles before he quitted the world.
ll now turn our attention to what he accomplished
o what he aimed at but failed to effect in Germany.

After the victory at Pavia, where the capture of th
monarch threw the world into amazement, Charles
appearance of being now the irresistible master of I
of all Europe, an appearance that of itself created
enemies. Even under Julius the Second and Leo t
together with the darling idea of the perfect nati
pendence and national unity of Italy, repugnance
sway had grown incomparably stronger. The F
made themselves odious, and it was felt on whic
most danger was to be feared. Now that the prep
of Charles was decisive, the old crooked policy of th
namely, to expel the French from Italy by the Ge
Spaniards and these again by the former, was
revived. It was a policy whereof the result was
Italy for a length of time the theatre of desolating
as a natural consequence to subject her precis
sternest foreign yoke. Clement the Seventh origi
counter policy; and when Charles's generals g
more a decided victory, and he could now in very
forth as the lord of Italy, the umpire of her affairs
did he make of his success, when, for the second
ten years, he quitted Spain in order to arrange
first of Italy, and then of Germany? He used
with a moderation and forbearance rare in one so
and in the youthful period of life, too, the most su
ambition; with a magnanimity towards individua
Clement and Sforza, which had been quite unex
which gained him very many, if not all, heart
Everywhere restoring legitimate possessions,
hereditary claims, sparing and reconciling the grea
he conferred on Italy the best constitution of wh
then capable, namely, a federative constitution,
sufficiently independent for him to conceive the id
drawing all his Spanish garrisons, and of int
independence of the country to the protection of
federal army. He even gained over at last, in s
the selfish Venice, by his pacific principles of poli

It was utterly impossible that Italy could at th
organized otherwise than as a federal state. Hen
union of federative states requires a centre, so
member to direct the whole body, the only questi

which of the three powers the most considerable by
ce, dignity, or size, namely, Florence, the pope, or
ould enjoy this pre-eminence. Florence, although
dvanced in intellectual culture, was not sufficiently
and withal too agitated in her internal condition.
r of Venice was the greatest, but her preponderance
e been oppressive and ruinous to the rest of Italy,
chief maritime and commercial state, she would,
iring the dominion over Italy, after which she
ly strove, have infallibly abused that authority to
commerce and keep down the naval power of the
s. An abuse of this kind was not to be feared
popes, whose supreme influence would have been
otable to the other Italian states, as this power was
e and of a dignity totally different from all others,
m its nature, too, a state of permanent peace was
curity, a circumstance which is desirable and appro-
he centre of a federal state. A pacific federative
hereof the chief member, if not formally proclaimed
et by tacit acknowledgment, should be the pope,
ittest constitution for Italy. And if the pope and
ing states were not sufficiently powerful to with-
ch aggression, there was no resource left but for
ign of Naples and Milan to guard the frontiers,
e the independence of this pacific confederation.
the constitution Charles bestowed on Italy. To
tution, and to Charles himself, was Italy indebted
ppy tranquillity which, after the total expulsion of
, she enjoyed during his reign, and in the period
y subsequent; while the other countries of Europe
to pieces by civil wars. And not only Italy, but
, was thus indebted for that magnificent display of
which continued to be unfolded in Italy during the
entury. For although in philosophy and learning,
nd even in the plastic arts, the period of the Italian
prior to Charles the Fifth, and in the first epoch
, was perhaps still more prolific in genius and in
nds of the first class than the succeeding one; yet
irst impulse which periods of public ferment often
genius, tranquillity is indispensably necessary for its
velopment. This tranquillity Charles secured to

Italy, crowning the loved poet of the nation with
hand which founded likewise the constitution, and es
the peace under the shadow whereof painting and
ture, poetry and eloquence, grew up in mutual riv
Spain, Charles created quite a new world even in
education, and poetry. Before his time the Spani
still a merely martial people, while in his reign the
the Italians in the number of their scholars in eve
department of learning. In history, in the cultivat
vernacular language, and in poetry, the genius of th
nation burst forth at once, prolific and inventive
perfect harmony with the national feelings. So g
the new impulse received by the Spanish mind under
in all departments of genius and learning, that even
reign of a Philip the Second was unable to cramp it.
dantly was the seed sown by Ximenes and Charles
fruits thereof, ineradicable and indestructible, con
grow even under a Philip. It was long before all thi
manifestation of the Spanish mind, whose real focus
Charles the Fifth, became deadened and extinguish
to Italy Charles gave precisely the only thing she
give herself, and which was essential to the further
ment of Italian genius, which had already given
noble proofs of its energy by creations of every kind

The supremacy which Charles undoubtedly poss
maintained in Italy was so moderate, so restra
attempered by the spirit of forbearance and by unc
laws, that even his successor Philip the Second, who
this power from him, and was in other respects sc
despotic measures, could not introduce into that
arbitrary rule. The re-establishment of the Sforza
and of the Medici in Florence is a proof of Charl
liatory policy in Italy, as the former had deserted
and the Medicean pope, Clement the Seventh, had
chief originator of this second war. We may rath
him for not granting Milan to his faithful Pescara,
sessed such high claims to reward. Pescara, darin
ventive, was not only the first captain, but the great
his nation, who clearly understood its true inte
welfare. He had the means indeed of conquering a
himself, but was devoted with boundless zeal to the

, because in him and his protecting influence he saw
vation of his country. He was devoted to him, not
y, however, but with the spirit of a freeman, openly ex-
censure and discontent when he believed there was
nd reason for it. That his fidelity, that his designs
ubtful, that his ambition was something like Wallen-
one of the many inaccuracies with which malice and
of original authorities have filled the history of
the Fifth. That Pescara did not receive that well-
l reward, was undoubtedly the result of no want of
tion on Charles's side, but was only the effect of the
ight which hereditary claims and rightful possession
ssessed with him. It is easy to justify him for not
the freedom of the Florentines, for they had long
hemselves incapable of enduring freedom. If a per-
republican form of government, like that of Venice,
t be established among them, if an hereditary ruler
ispensable, who had better-founded claims to the
than the Medici?
arles's proceedings, however, in Italy, be open at
ensure, it is perhaps that he yielded too much to
es, Clement the Seventh and Paul the Third, in
lian politics, and in their private views. If at an
eriod, at the close of the fifteenth century, the popes
ith all zeal to revive the power of the ecclesiastical
regain everything that had been wrested from them,
icy may be justified, because these exertions were not
to their own personal profit, but to the security, the
and the independence of the Roman see. But what
nt reflections it excites to behold those two popes,
the Seventh and more particularly Paul the Third
long pontificate occurred precisely at a period so
s to the church and society)—to behold them, we say,
ly bent upon nothing so earnestly as to secure an
y principality to their family. If we look at
y great men who surrounded Charles in Spain and
nd then inquire which of the German princes and
esides his brother Ferdinand, was his intellectual
nt and co-operator in all his mighty designs, we shall
a sorry answer. The reason was, not that men of
nd energy were wanting in Germany, but that the

existing energies were dissipated in the univers
ferment, and were mostly alienated from the empe
actively opposed to him. Of all the German princes
devoted to him was the Count Palatine Charles
Although not an elector, his activity had had great in
the election of Charles. A faithful servant of his fath
the Fair, the Palatine had been from his youth
friend and companion of Charles. Neither a passio
able in his circumstances) for Charles's sister,
nor a subsequent suit for the hand of Mary, the
queen of Hungary, could disturb their friendly relati
Palatine spent a great part of his life in suits of th
was unwearied in journeying backwards and forward
Spain and Germany; he was a prince of amiabl
rather than of distinguished abilities. Without be
warm adherent of the new doctrines, he yet fo
stream, and it was this circumstance that at last
him from Charles. What deep roots their ancient
still possessed in the breast of the latter is sho
proofs of tenderness he displayed on their rec
when the army of the Smalcald League was disp
the more youthful princes, none succeeded so cor
gaining the favour and confidence of Charles as
Saxony, who afterwards abandoned him. He
guished for understanding and activity, and poss
military capacity. His self-command, outward mod
dignity of manner seem especially to have won Charl
the more so as among many other German princes
a certain chivalrous impetuosity of manners preva
than any dignified, refined address. Charles loved
reserved characters, like William of Orange and
Saxony. The longer Charles ruled, the more he a
habit of suppressing his own feelings, and gained th
viction that the world could be governed by the un
alone. But that dignity of manner, and that thoug
reserve, which promises so much, and with some,
emperor himself, conceals deep feeling, great object
sentiments, may also serve to veil mere vulgar sel
ambition, and most cruelly deceive the confidence
as indeed happened to Charles in the case of Mau

In Germany, as already related, Charles aime

in to restore the religious peace that had been de-
, and to avert a schism in the church. On this point,
had to endure in his own time the most opposite
s. While at Rome, he was said to be encroaching on
isdiction of the pope by arbitrarily intermeddling in
stical affairs; it was reported throughout Germany
sought to extirpate the Lutherans. This charge is
e confirmed by history, that more recent historians
n the contrary preferred a very different and more
accusation, namely, that he in reality secretly favoured
otestants, but only with the selfish view of thereby
ng the pope. This hypothesis has arisen from those
being unable to enter sufficiently enough into Charles's
nts, and in general into the modes of thinking in that
nfluenced by the spirit of our own times, and our
odes of thinking, it has seemed to them impossible that
rch so sagacious, as they yet conceive Charles to be,
have had no other object in view than the one he
y did have; that, according to his mode of thinking,
uld make it the first and holiest of his duties, the
of his wishes, yea the very object of his life, to avert
sfortune of an ecclesiastical schism. Neither is the
of an arbitrary and violent interference in church
well founded. The first and very important step,
permitting Luther's appearance at the diet, can alone
sured, since his religious opinions as to faith, grace,
e non-freedom of the will, were not of a nature to be
l on at such a place, by the assembled princes and
s. On the other hand, the grievances of the German
against Rome, particularly with respect to the money
was so often carried out of the country, could, as had
y often happened, have been remedied without Luther.
fter the Protestants had refused to recognise any
of the church, still less the authority of Rome itself,
nter into any kind of negotiation with the ecclesiastical
there was no resource left but for the state, and the
of the state, to negotiate with them. Had Charles
at curbing the church, and more especially the pope,
ch as modern writers have conceived, he would un-
dly have made the commencement of such an attempt
ain itself. We should very much mistake the then

condition of Spain, were we to suppose he dared no
account of the state of opinion in that country
general the mutual limits between episcopal and pa
rity have been often a subject of dispute, so likewi
case of the Spanish as well as of other bishops, o
grievances, and controversies were not wanting, whi
might have made subservient to such ambitious pr
he entertained them. This policy would have
easier, because we see in all the Spanish writers o
how odious both the popes Clement the Seventh
the Third personally were to the Spanish people.
be said that Charles favoured the Protestants; he
them as far as his conscience permitted, because
not a war, but strove to maintain peace with
always entertained the hope that a reconciliation
to the church were still possible. To this convi
owing the dilatoriness of his proceedings. He hop
the ferment of minds did not wholly subside o
would at least diminish. He cannot, moreover, be
sured for not selecting the moment, when Ger
menaced by a most formidable attack from the
bring the contest with the Protestants to a decisi
to inflame it more fiercely than ever. This out
before the breaking out of the civil war was bu
The schism had already struck root too deeply
minds. For one Charles, for one Melancthon, t
many thousands burning with fierce hatred and
peration, and some also who had private objects
in view. There occurred at this period, wherein t
ing animosity already prognosticated civil war, a ci
which, although it affected individuals only, made
less a deep impression on the whole age; one,
two Spanish brothers, had in Germany embrace
doctrines, whereat the other was enraged, and
into Germany, met his brother, when at last t
exasperation and fury led to the murder of the
hands of the other. This, although a mere isol
rence, yet made an impression so deep that scarcel
of that time can be found who has not told the
length, and has not spoken with peculiar hor
fratricide. It was, as it were, a melancholy pres

rse of blindness which, since the frightful schism in , was impending over mankind,—of all that blood of n which, in the course of a century and a half, was e shed in France and Spain, in the Low Countries, in d and Germany, upon the battle-field and upon the .

ng the few years that immediately preceded the g out of the war, Charles laboured with indescribable te inexhaustible patience at the work of peace and . He was supported by several scholars of both who were the most respected for their learning, their lignity, and their spirit of equity. But he laboured . The hostile leagues of the Catholic and the Pro- princes grew more and more violent in their oppo- Actions were daily multiplied, which, irrespective of and the church, no emperor could tolerate, who e emperor in more than the name. On no occasion arles display so much the full force of his character itary talent as in this Smalcald war. At the opening campaign, his situation appeared utterly desperate; ile his confidence, we may even say his cheerfulness, ith the danger itself,—while he knew how, by his l qualities, by his kindness, and affable familiarity, to his soldiers with a confidence that enabled them to impossibilities,—an indescribable blindness and con- on the other hand, seem to have overpowered the of the Smalcald league. As the leader of his party, dgrave had often given proofs of his courage and pru- but now, on the decisive day of danger, he too deceived fidence that all had placed in him. After the battle lberg, where Charles unexpectedly triumphed over atest danger that ever menaced him, it was the expres- his inmost feeling, when, alluding to Cæsar's cele- phrase, he wrote, "I came, I saw, and God conquered." ble was the impression produced both in and out of y by this sudden, unexpected turn of things. In y, everything, as though smitten by a supernatural submitted to him without terms or conditions. To the Europe he appeared a great hero, who, extricating from a most perilous situation, had achieved in the f a few months, and without any resources but what

his invincible courage gave him, a complete milit
moral conquest of Germany, at that period still de
first and most powerful of all countries. Every
honour was heaped upon him, and he was paralle
Cæsar and Alexander.

An embassy from the czar of Muscovy, and anot
the khan of Tartary (the shah of Persia had befor
embassy to congratulate him on his accession to the
served the more to exalt him in the eyes of the mul
the first monarch of Europe.

In the first moment of victory he could have
ruled in Germany according to his pleasure; for th
ment to him was great, and great was the numb
faithful friends and servants, while such as had bee
were smitten with terror. It was the right moment
to change the Germanic constitution, if such had
wish. He might have done so, too, without vio
right; for, which of the belligerent princes had not th
in one way or another, violated the constitution?
entitled to consider all the ancient relations terminat
totally new state of things introduced, since the b
princes had even ceased to recognise him as emperor
styled him simply Charles of Ghent. But of su
victory he made no other use than to forward more e
the work of religious peace, at which he had so lo
zealously laboured, but without a prosperous resu
with how much conscientiousness did he do this!
because he was so far exalted above his conte
because these participated so little in his mild and
mous sentiments, because in his sense of justice
single and alone in his age; but can this be made a
reproach? By cautious forbearance he was able
the conflict from assuming precisely the name and
of a religious war. Neither was it one in rea
merely because a Protestant prince sided with Char
some Protestant as well as Catholic ones remained
but because the very method of waging hostilities
indeed which in succeeding times was by no means
proved that it was not a religious war. Everyt
and great, even if it apparently fails, produces its
and indestructible effects. Thus while in France

od was flowing in torrents, in Germany, even after empted reunion had proved impossible, a religious t least between the Catholic and Protestant parties, l possible, and even subsisted for half a century. But n was Germany indebted for this blessing but to the Charles, who made such unwearied efforts to bring religious pacification? These attempts had the effect of softening the sentiments of a few of the better , but also of developing the conditions of a religious nd of an order of things so new to the world. The rupture of the peace at the close of half a century, breaking out of a most tremendous war, cannot be as derogating from this benefit; for if the spirit of had been more responded to, if he had but awakened sentiments to his own in Germany, never would a ears' war have been enkindled. Here, however, he mitted one great political error. Being once more osition where decided measures alone, where one opposite courses alone—absolute severity or uncon- clemency—could effectually accomplish his object, ted a middle path, bounded on either hand by jus- l mercy. This remark is applicable to his conduct all the belligerent princes, but chiefly towards the John Frederick of Saxony. Alba conjured him, if he ot grant Saxony to his brother as a fief, lest he raw down upon himself the charge of thirsting after , at least to partition it, to erect its cities into free the empire, and to divide its different provinces he different petty princes. If he would not even do entreated him to restore the whole province intact to tor John Frederick, who might perhaps be entirely ver by such magnanimity, but in no case to confer it aurice. The faithful Ferdinand, too, was against ; but it was all in vain, Charles had given his word; led it, and was fearfully deceived.

lector John Frederick gained, during his captivity, the nay, the friendship of Charles. The latter was at re irritated against him than against any, because he the most unbending resistance of all to his attempts ch reunion. Even during his captivity, John Fre- after ceding many considerable territories for himself

and his heirs, refused to subscribe Charles's fo reunion, the Interim, because he considered it c his religion and his conscience. The Landgrave, o trary, could he have obtained his liberty on that showed a readiness to comply. This very constanc Frederick was a result and a proof, if not of a com understanding, at least of an honest heart. Charles too, for the conscientious prince may have, perhaps, the more he felt himself deceived in Maurice, his fa to this period.

When this prince, who was also a general of h against him, surprised and forced him to fly, Char perceived that his object, namely, the avoidance of a the church, was impracticable. From this moment doned to his brother Ferdinand the task of concludin adapted to the actual posture of affairs, as well as t of ecclesiastical schism, henceforth unavoidable, an mitted to his care all the affairs of Germany. err in supposing that, because he had no means of on the first moment of surprise, he was, therefore, without resources. In a few months, through the operation of his sister Maria, he stood at the h army more than fifty thousand strong. That it have been difficult for him to draw even Protestants over to his side, we see by the example of one o enterprising among them, the Margrave Albert of burg, who entered into his service. Charles alw still very great support in Germany. Had he but employ that powerful army in Germany to aven upon Maurice, and to reinstate the elector John Fr would still have easily gained the upper hand. but yielded in respect to religion, all Germany then have rallied round him. But this was pre he could not, and would not, do. When he sa desired reunion, on which he had wasted so ma labour, was, in the prevaling temper of minds, practicable, he lost all interest in Germany; and period we perceive in him a decided repugnan difference towards all German affairs.

In retaining the two princes, John Frederick an grave, in captivity, Charles had no other object i

eason to deprive of influence, the two individuals, the one by his inflexible obstinacy, the other by his activity, stood most in the way of the much-desired tical reunion, until such reunion had become in fficiently consolidated. With regard to the Land- Charles was so far from miscalculating in this matter, t prince, even during his captivity, offered to accept rim; and after recovering his freedom, did not even to be the same man, but had lost his characteristic and courage, and all his former authority. Many censures have been cast on Charles for retaining ndgrave in captivity, which are now proved to be unfounded. The emperor was wholly free from n the matter; the fault lay with the negotiators, who mised to the Landgrave more than the former knew roved of. In regard to his policy, however, his con- y, perhaps, deserve censure in this as in several other ccause, in a period of violent revolution and universal he did not always adopt the most decisive course, l only too often recourse to moderate and half- s. Yet, on the whole, the reunion Charles at- failed, not on account of a few erroneous measures, ause the division, the ferment, and the exasperation s was too universal.

rice had set himself up to be the protector of Ger- edom; but the voice of the people was not with him. was it well possible that it should be, as duplicity forgiven by the public. In the very same sense as , the king of France called himself the guardian of freedom, while he was seizing some cities of the which Maurice, in a treaty of alliance, just as if the were already his, had dared to give up to him. To his encroachment Charles led his army, taking up r the last time in defence of the honour and inviola- f the empire, as well as the security of his beloved ands. Here, also, he was unsuccessful, being unable to Metz. In his retreat, however, he survived the great of St. Quentin, in the reign of his successor, which quarter towards France seemed to guarantee con- curity, and even something more.

es now realized the wish he had long cherished, of

closing his life in calm seclusion and silent commu
his soul. His entire life had been one unbroken
he had, from the first, regarded and felt his soverei
mission, a mighty duty, and a burden; for a whol
tion he had borne that burden on his shoulders, and
the rudder with a strong hand, while Europe was
tossed about in the storms of the time. So far wa
being devoid of feeling, that we may rather trace i
disposition to melancholy. The deep impression
him by his mother's death, which, after she had bee
a state of melancholy madness, occurred shortly
own end, is in this respect worthy of notice. And
this resolution, too, of withdrawing into a quiet retr
occasion to the most singular commentaries; a r
known to have been taken, and often expressed
even a very early period, when he was at the summ
cess, and in the prime of manly vigour. But altho
sessing deep and earnest feelings, he was outwa
cheerful, intellectual in social intercourse, and
susceptible of friendship. Many and touching pr
of his tender attachment to his nearest kindred, pa
to his two sisters, Eleonora and Mary (who, upon
leave of the world, attended him to Spain), and i
of his friendship for all about him, who were at al
of responding to such a feeling. With his great
both in war and in the cabinet, his intercourse was
he was affable to all; and innumerable are th
answers, intellectual traits, and significant sayings,
age preserved of his. Although in such a case
perhaps, be inaccurately attributed to a great man,
most remarkable and best-attested traits are alone s
book might easily be compiled, which would be o
most instructive of its kind.

Thus withdrew from the world a man, who, a
Spain, was, without comparison, the best and grea
who have preceded or followed him; who made S
she was for two centuries; who, as emperor of
had always aimed at the noblest objects with ind
effort; a man who in his mighty soul embraced all
tions of his age and of Europe; and, with the clea
rect, saw through the complicated problems sh

d discerned the formidable dangers that menaced

death all Christian nations rivalled each other in
stivals, of unexampled pomp, in honour of his name
ness. Even in the capital of the Turkish empire,
inded foe honoured by a funeral festival the memory
reat monarch who had left the world. Europe
to feel that the hero and champion of the age was
an age which, now that this last pillar of strength
had also disappeared, was the more surely hurrying
ntury of war and anarchy.

LECTURES XV. & XVI.

OF EUROPE UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF CHARLES.

ge towards which Europe was hurrying after the
Charles the Fifth was indeed well calculated to fill
ith melancholy, whose mind foresaw it. Long civil
the first inevitable consequence of the schism in the
They distracted Germany, Switzerland, France, the
onarchy, and England for upwards of a century and
ckoning from the peasants' war to the persecution
uguenots under Lewis the Fourteenth. At length,
olland, and then from the time of Queen Anne in
and the emperor Joseph the First, new and
inciples of policy became predominant in Europe.
after the first religious peace had been established in
by Charles the Fifth and his brother Ferdinand,
broke out in France and the Netherlands; and
ad a better epoch arrived for France with the acces-
lenry the Fourth, and scarcely had the freedom of
een recognised after a long contest, when in Ger-
long-repressed warfare broke out afresh with
fury. At last, after thirty years of distraction and
a treaty of peace was there signed, at the very time
England, after many other cruel executions, the
King Charles himself was brought to the scaffold.

While in England, out of the strife of contendin
a new form of legal liberty already began to sp
Lewis the Fourteenth in France set on foot a gene
tion against the Huguenots, not less cruel and unjus
which has earned for Philip the Second among p
reputation of a tyrant. These civil wars were a
result of the religious schism, not only by rea
intimate alliance between church and state, but a
the new doctrines generated new and peculiar pri
parties in reference to the state, as well as in matt
gion. The early political fanaticism of the Ana
Germany was, it was true, at once and universal
by both parties, crushed, and then again forgott
also in the period from Charles the Fifth, down t
years' war, the religious contests partook in Gern
a political character than in any other country
In France, on the contrary, among the adherents
this political character is plainly visible, not in
bridled fanaticism such as that in the first outb
troubles in Germany, but on the most systematic
which on that very account acquired a permanent
among the English Puritans this was still more th
this must be added the opportunity of employing
motions as an instrument for ambitious views ; an
which the combustible matter actually existin
offered to an immoral system of policy. The Fre
ment had set the example of holding it up as an
policy to subject the Protestants in Paris to
death, and at the same time to support them in
Even, however, without this admirable principle
public law, which was thus substituted for the old
was not imitated by other countries, the natural
able connection of each religious party in the differe
led to general and multifarious violations of jus
Queen Elizabeth supported the Huguenots in Fra
not surprising that the friends and co-religionists
happy Mary Stuart should look forward with e
the arrival of a Spanish fleet. Under a combinat
cumstances like this, the mutual relations not o
states themselves, but of the sovereigns and the pe
state, must have been in the highest degree vitiated
and corrupted.

ore lamentable even than the civil wars and vast were the general restrictions on civil liberty as well iom of thought, which were the immediate conse- the schism in the church. That comprehensive and ntellectual culture, that great and genuine freedom , which had prevailed in Italy under Lorenzo and ermany under Maximilian, and had thence extended icial influence over all Europe, were now no longer ght of. The very existence of the state was above to be saved and guaranteed, whatever else might atever sacrifices might be required, great and bloody ght be, painful to the feelings, or injurious to civil- his was the case not only within the domains of church, but equally so in those of the new creed. less dangerous in Protestant Germany to swerve Augsburg confession of faith, than in Catholic attack the Council of Trent. Even in Saxony, the he Reformation, a learned scholar was subjected to prosecution in the year 1574 for Crypto-Calvinism, led, that is, under the accusation of being a secret Calvin's party; and a distinguished statesman and was in the year 1601, on the like account, publicly Not only freedom of thought, but civil liberty also, uch in many states of Europe, and especially in from the religious schism. In this country the ne peasants and the discontent of the nobles were t; the power of the princes, so augmented by the of church property, and their own close alliance other, was the cause of these numerous restrictions nt freedom. In the Spanish monarchy the exaspe- he government was stimulated, and its system of me even more and more distrustful and harsher, vas in a condition to suppress in every quarter the urrections. It is true that these growing encroach- iberty were the very cause of violent reactions, rved to introduce a republican spirit and freedom hat in some states the strife of warring elements st into an equilibrium, which endured for some consi- e at least. This was eminently the case in Holland nd, where this equilibrium was brought about by an mbination of ancient forms with the modern spirit.

while in Austria this was the result of conciliati
the new order of things, united with the strict mai
the ancient system. In the history of Europe,
whole (and England forms not always an excep
alternation of vigorous repression and equally v
breaks of freedom prevailed both in political insti
in the development of the public mind. We ma
however, whether a perpetual transition from one
another—a perpetual oscillation and alternatio
despotism and utter anarchy—between hatred
philosophy on the one side, and contempt for all
the other, exhibited in the constitution as well as
thought, can lead so surely to a really well-ordered
freedom and civilization, as that uniform inward d
of the earlier times? For such there was in the per
ing the Reformation a noble foundation laid for
culture, and there existed the possibility at least of
and legal settlement of political relations in all t
states of Europe.

The character of modern nations and states wit
three centuries has been, if not exclusively,
moulded by the form which the Reformation as
the influence it exercised in each of them. Of th
countries of Europe, Italy was indisputably the
tunate in the first century after the Reformatio
because she remained free from its influence (excep
and mediate impression created by the univers
and was spared all intestine religious wars.
peace there required no further sacrifice than
prosecution or exile of one or two scholars, wh
thinking and whose doctrines might now appea
to the public security, although in other times p
would have augmented and exalted the fame of
Italy and Spain had preserved their national unity
at this period possessed a true national intellect
and a literature, that was the reflection of it.
tunately, from a dread of abuse and of doctrinal
philosophy was excluded from this circle of inte
ture, or reduced to a dead, powerless form, fo
was altogether too much restricted to the region
ation. Hence this Italian and Spanish civilizati

in art, poetry, and literature, bore within itself the eakness and decay; for a true and lasting cultiva- lone proceed from the harmonious development of ulties. In England and Germany, through recol- f other times and old traditions, many isolated northern poesy still sprang up on the national soil, s century; but a regular series of intellectual works of national literature, as in Spain and Italy—could grow up. The storm of civil war swept away into very plant that strove to put forth its leaves. In the very language became barbarous, when after a ury of religious controversies, invariably carried on rness, often with coarseness, generally with a false nd but rarely with originality and profoundness of there ensued a universal and desolating war, any survived the termination, in manhood or old had witnessed its commencement in childhood or n France, too, all interest and energy were at that clusively absorbed by civil commotions and party It was not until Richelieu re-established unity, a of the Belles Lettres commenced in France, which sman was at first anxious to encourage for political After Italy, the condition of Germany was com- the most prosperous in the latter half of the six- tury, from the period of the religious peace until the outbreak of the thirty years' war. It was but ce, indeed, which, far from eradicating the evil, did x accurately the demarcations between the hostile Such as it was, however, it was still a benefit, com- the horrors perpetrated in that age in France and For the advantage of being the first to establish peace, Germany was indebted more immediately the Fifth's efforts to effect a reunion, and to the timents, or at least to the early suggestion of terms ions of agreement, which thence arose. The causes d to uphold a peace, so frail and insecure in its own re the fact that both religious parties in Germany, ally strong, were at least sufficiently powerful to tual fear and forbearance; next, the pacific and y system of the first Austrian emperors of the Ger- who succeeded Charles the Fifth; and, finally, the

systematic a version which, since the atrocities of th
war, and of the Anabaptists, the German Luther
tained for all civil commotions, unlawful encroac
violent revolutions in the old constitution. The f
Calvin, on the other hand, whose genius and prin
more directly on the state, on social relations ar
were excluded from the benefits of the religious p
abhorred even by the Lutherans, and thus could
difficulty and by degrees obtain toleration; for a l
elapsed ere they acquired any influence in German
quite otherwise in France and England: instead
being tolerably equal, as in Germany, in the form
two countries the Catholic, in the latter the Protes
were predominant, and preponderant enough to
exercise at their will oppression over the weaker
both lands, conspiracies were the order of the day.
land, the executions of many worthy and innoce
from Sir Thomas More down to the unhappy M
of Scots, excite an indignation even aggravated b
form given to the perpetrated cruelty. Not less
gusted with the violent changes of principles
bloodily enforced according to the successive opin
spotic sovereigns. In France the party contests a
of the last Valois, and in general their culpable
which involved all that was most sacred in re
dearest interests, and the very blood of the peopl
cially revolting to the feelings. How powerful a
tive the new elements of fermentation were, that th
trines had introduced into the world, was evi
especially in England. Almost still more violent
than the hatred between the adherents of the old a
faith, was the hatred between the two parties, into
latter was divided, namely, the Protestant Episco
the Puritans. In this respect England most resem
many, except that in the former the evil was fully
whereas in the latter the germ only existed. Had
lic party been wholly crushed in Germany,—cou
vinist doctrines have obtained a somewhat wide
judging from their mutual sentiments and mutu
ration, a civil war between the followers of Lut
Calvin would probably have broken out in this cou

Spanish monarchy the new doctrines evinced their
in bringing about a democratic reaction in the
s shape of great popular insurrections. The Dutch
their freedom by force of arms; the Moriscoes in
of Spain were defeated and extirpated. A third
ellion, though purely political, in Arragon, under
e Second, proves how a despotic government is har-
its course of severity by the very insurrections it
. Another consequence of the Reformation was,
states and nations of Europe grew more isolated,
universal bond of union, which had hitherto en-
d knit them together, became relaxed, or was even
r dissevered. Germany had much declined from its
greatness, and was mostly confined within the circle
n affairs. England and France were wholly ab-
ith their own affairs, and with their civil wars.
ne continued to maintain her ascendancy in Italy,
ivide with Portugal the almost exclusive monopoly
erce, and of the recently discovered countries of the
ld. At times she possessed a visible preponderance
nce and England, and exerted a kind of predomi-
nfluence through all western Europe, until more
ited observers perceived that Spanish greatness, the
l lustre whereof had, from the time of Charles the
en diffused through all Europe, was no longer what
en, what it was still considered to be by the multi-
: that the great monarchy was in a state of visible
less decline.

e we review the reign of Philip the Second, the son
essor of the great Charles, who was yet so unlike
r, and trace the further destinies of the Spanish, and
ciples of the German-Austrian house, we have still
g to say as to Charles's views and principles regard-
ouse and line—the Austrian dynasty in Spain, as
in Germany. One of his last plans, as is well
was to procure Philip's election as king of the Ro-
Not one of Charles's measures appears so liable to cen-
his, if we form our judgment according to the result
of the intention of the emperor, and require of him
ate foreknowledge of his son's character, such as we
to be, after it has been unfolded to posterity by a

reign of forty-two years, a period during which
even sterner and darker. Startling, it is true, is t
what would have become of Europe, had Mary of
Philip the Second's consort, lived longer, had his
proved prolific, had he become virtual sovereign o
through long possession of a co-regency, and alrea
Spain and Naples and lord of the new world, ha
in addition been created emperor of Germany. Bu
personal character alone would the danger have a
from the union of these various kingdoms, which,
unalterable differences and geographical remoten
rather have afforded each other some mutual gua
freedom. Thus in Italy, although restrained by
power, Philip could not acquire despotic sway.
could he have done so in England, even if the pr
of Mary's life and the then strength of the Cath
had enabled him to maintain himself in that co
even if he had known how to win the good-will of
In Spain, had he been simultaneously emperor of
he would, beyond all doubt, have been a less abs
reign than he actually was. Least of all could he
attained absolute power in Germany. Here, abo
would have been forced to adopt more conciliat
ples; or if he had remained inflexible in his se
only result would have been that the war, which
subsequently broke out, would have been earlier
and half a century sooner, perhaps, have been co
a Westphalian peace. A total subjugation of e
by the other was not to be apprehended, as for
both of them were too powerful. Very differen
union of such different countries, and far more pr
danger, is that order of things, when a great state
itself, and with frontiers well rounded off, is enco
neighbours, each of whom, taken singly, is far in
in power. In such a case, opportunities for
aggrandizement, in the course of time, will neve
ing; while the aggrandizement of such a sta
effected on the federal principle of a mere con
by the incorporation of the smaller with the rul
by the fusion of all into one universal mass, wit
pansion despotism at home must necessarily in

nited. Be this, however, as it may, and far l more desirable for Germany as were the mild of government adopted by the first emperors of German line, than the event adverted to above; a of uniting so many crowns on a single head, of tates and nations into a single state and nation, ote from Charles's views, that we may be certain had a second legitimate son, he would, in all pro- ve set apart one of the crowns he wore, that of he Netherlands for instance, as an inheritance for is shown, likewise, in his fraternal relations with It was not mistrust or dislike towards his bro- ggested to Charles this arrangement; but wholly he natural reflection, how difficult, nay, impossible, for him, with the slender power he otherwise pos- aintain the imperial rights, and fulfil imperial duties and efficiency. The best clue to the views, on les's plans were founded, is furnished by the nature gement which the two brothers at last appear to upon. Philip was to become king of the Romans, to succeed Ferdinand in the imperial dignity; milian, Ferdinand's son, was, in his turn, as king ans, to lend his aid to Philip, as his father had ne as Charles's representative in Germany. The position which this proposal excited in Germany , on account of the character of Philip, who was en popular; more unfounded was the objection of n attempt to render the empire hereditary. In urishing periods of the Germanic constitution, in f the Saxon, Franconian, and Suabian emperors, n the custom not to quit the reigning house with- rgent motive; while the freedom of election was by the preference of one member to another of house and family. Subsequently the German nselves, although some of them, at least, were at even at war with the house of Austria, felt, that o that house, to introduce a kind of hereditary ot in theory indeed, but, nevertheless, in practice, y means of preserving some degree of power to ed imperial authority. This arrangement, for the ternal order, as well as protection against the

Turks, must have been desired by all, and acknow
a benefit.

According to the conception of Charles, not on
imperial dignity to be common to the two branc
house, but they were in general to be united in the
mate manner. The whole Austrian house was
single family, and the various Austrian states and
single federative state, precisely as Ferdinand a
although reigning over countries widely apart,
together, both in peace and war, only one power
trian federative state. Several like measures rev
plan, as well as the wish for a general union of th
family, and a close connection between the two lines
his last absence from Spain he appointed Maxin
had married Philip's sister, regent; and Maximili
occasion gained the universal love of the Span
To him and to his consort the emperor intrusted th
of his beloved grandson, the unhappy Carlos. Th
temper of Charles ought to have been hereditary i
in order to realize the union he had so much at hea
however, as the good emperor had succeeded in
in restoring concord, and in reuniting minds in
embittered by hatred, he succeeded no better in
the alliance and union he desired among his poster
the hateful character of Philip, the very mea
selected to connect the two lines became an occa
greater estrangement, which after his death sprang
them, and which was long ere it was removed. I
of the proposed election of Philip as king of the
not produce any coolness between the two brot
selves, it undoubtedly created a decided alienatio
sion between Philip and Ferdinand. The circu
Maximilian's gaining so completely the love of th
as regent may easily, added to the great differen
modes of thinking and to Philip's disposition, hav
still more their mutual dislike. Without doub
principles imbibed by the youthful Carlos, in hi
under Maximilian, joined to the undisciplined an
racter of the young prince, and the stern, suspiciou
Philip, were the first occasion for the discord
father and the son, and for the unhappy fate of C

bly as history has pronounced judgment on Philip
, yet in forming our estimate of his character, we
orget that, like the Roman emperor Tiberius, with
iis suspicious and vindictive character he may be
mpared, he possessed also, together with these
ny great qualities, a profound understanding, and
ee of energy and activity. Neither was his cha-
irst by any means what it afterwards gradually
his disposition grew ever sterner and harder. It is
uality of a stern, mistrustful, vindictive character,
vil strikes its roots deeper with time. Philip's
inciples, indeed, originated in the conviction, that
r had encountered universal censure for excessive
id indulgence, especially with regard to religious
ought to correct the error. As often happens in
he fell into the opposite extreme of excessive
many cases and positions it is only the most
ly extreme measures, that can bring help and
these measures are of dangerous application, for
es in them a power, which will often master the
attempts to guide them. These decided and ex-
ures, which in execution so easily degenerate into
ether they proceed from the principle of monar-
reignty or from ideas of democratic freedom, have
rity, that they cannot be revoked. If cruelty be
ed and enforced, it then hurries forward in its
n independent power; and at last it depends no
he tyrant himself, whether he wishes to continue a
ot, but he is driven onwards in his course by an iron
it were, and by an invisible hand.

was the first epoch of Philip the Second's reign.
gainst France, to which the latter was urged by
lf, out of hatred to Charles's conciliatory policy,
pposed interference in religious matters, was as
id successful as ever a war had been. The naval
Turkey was shattered at a moment, when the
the rebellion in the Low Countries could not as
icipated. Philip had inherited two great qualities
father: a dignified and lofty outward bearing, and
collecting great men around him, of appreciating,
and employing them. From the time of Charles,

the Spanish name was still great throughout Europ
weight of this glory in public estimation was very
able. Everything undertaken by Spain at this p
a certain stamp of dignity and grandeur. For the
ation of this its ancient lustre, the monarchy was
debted to the Spanish nobility, which through Ch
risen to be the first in Europe. To distinguish
form of nobility from the older forms and epochs
that order had been developed in the middle age
Germanic period, we may term it the royal nobil
spirit of unbounded devotion, fidelity, and self-s
the service of the king, was its soul and first princ
feudal nobility had sprung out of companionship
The rewards at first bestowed and received on
spirit of magnanimity and lofty gratitude, quickly
self-interest in the place of enthusiastic love of g
disinterested brotherhood in arms. With self-inter
multitude of complicated relations of property, thw
embarrassing the state in every way.

The nobility of the middle age was afterwards pur
and regenerated by the spirit of chivalry. Inste
interest, their minds were turned towards high
public welfare, and the fraternal love of noble broth
and comrades in war was still more closely cemented
vows and lofty sentiments. Chivalry, however, re
complete; it never became universally predomina
the anarchy which arose upon the disorganization o
old political institutions, the nobility assumed the
forms, became one of violent feud and fierce club-
nobility were in part deprived of and deposed fro
ginal military duties, when, besides the mounted r
had hitherto constituted the chief sinew of war, a
infantry was formed out of a robust and free rac
taineers. The Swiss and the German foot-so
became universally indispensable in every army;
militia of the independent cities, however, easily
most dexterous in the scientific construction and e
of fire-arms. The feuds carried on by the no
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries against the free
peasantry and against the cities, was the struggle
invented military system against the old one; a

new maintained its ground. The exclusive pos-
ilitary service and military honour could no longer
ential characteristic of the nobility ; the compli-
ns of feudal property disappeared more and more
tension of the royal power. But by means of this
power, which now first received its full develop-
fectly new function devolved upon the nobility,
ly, of constituting a link between king and
ot as though the king, if he is what he ought to be,
entre of his people, needs a prop for his support,
ne nobility should co-operate and share in any
ablish absolute authority to crush the liberties of
but that they should complete the union of the
, should knit together more intimately the living
en king and people. In its original idea, what else
amid his people but the living law, the visible
nobility that thinks and acts in this moral spirit,
ies as it were this kingly power of legal order and
y ; that places its honour in its self-devotion to
he principles of rigid justice and morality, in the
stre of the nation ; such a nobility corresponds to
lea formed by Charles of the functions of the
may affirm that by the influence of his spirit, and
l dignity of the nation itself, the Spanish nobility
orresponded better to this lofty standard, and ap-
arer to the beau ideal than any other in Europe.
eat men whom Philip inherited from his father,
the first place. His character, likewise, which,
ong career, may be distinguished into three quite
hs, is often unfairly judged merely from its last
vourable period. A faithful friend and servant of
Charles, than whom he was eight years younger,
ed even in early youth a high degree of
e, chivalrous sports, and poetry,—which seemed
of every noble Spaniard of that age the main
life,—martial deeds and martial fame, filled up
n also ; he was accounted the pride of the Spanish
was the model of all aspiring youths, and the
his nation. It awakes a melancholy feeling to
s beautiful picture of Alba's youth with the cruel-
n his old age, he perpetrated in the Netherlands ;

to contemplate the frightful effects and changes th
century passed amid civil turmoils and religious
produce even in a character originally noble. In Ge
the middle period of his life, when he stood a co
captain at the side of Charles, so far was he from b
he is generally painted, that the counsels and warnin
to Charles, especially with regard to the elector John
were wholly on the side of mercy; they were, mo
general very wise, and exhibited an accurate knowle
circumstances of the German states and princes. The
the house of Austria; the maintenance of the Catholi
the honour of Spain—these were the objects of his
alone possessed value in his eyes; for these, as a w
a statesman, he battled with enthusiasm, and fo
himself was also ready to make every sacrifice.
in the Netherlands is undeniable. He was convi
ever, of the absolute justice of his cause, and that ex
violent measures would alone be effectual—an opi
he held in common with many whose lives have b
the unhappy period of civil warfare. He received,
invariably from Philip, who sought to cast the o
himself on Alba, stringent orders to act with severi
if we do not deny all great qualities to a Sylla, a P
Cicero, a Cato, and Brutus, because partly out
partly upon principle, and for the sake of opi
spilled the blood of their countrymen, or took par
this kind, neither can we exclude Alba from th
great men.

The revolt of the Netherlands, and the indepen
subsequently achieved by force of arms, was in its
of the most important events of history. If we exa
one the first demands and proceedings of the mal
shall not find them all well-founded or just, nor will
and leaders, judged by their separate and secret vi
by any means in the favourable light in which the
successful result and the gratitude of posterity
them. But if we look at the whole course a
Philip the Second's government, we can only reg
insurrections as natural. The desire expressed by
able party in the Netherlands to place themselv
sovereignty of an Austrian archduke of the

e idea that it would perhaps have been more
Charles the Fifth had allotted his Netherlands to
line. From the tolerant principles of the earlier
that house, the ensuing war would probably have
ed, and Holland never have become a sepa-
n occurrence which has subsequently been attended
most important and beneficial results, and often
most decided influence on the whole course of
ne revolt of the Netherlands and the conquest of
ere the most important events in Philip the Second's
th Sebastian's death terminated the brief period of
prosperity, power, and grandeur. A grandson of
Fifth, not less unhappy than his other grandson,
of Spain, he appears to have chiefly been stimu-
dertake his great African expedition by the glorious
his grandfather. In itself the expedition cannot
osurd. Already Ximenes and Charles the Fifth
ded, that nothing was so important and so essen-
internal prosperity of the Iberian peninsula, and
continue in the future, as a lasting influence and
possessions on the African coast. Under the pro-
such settlements, flourishing Christian colonies
aps have been gradually there planted, and that
ast, which is so essentially connected with Europe,
peopled, as of old, by civilized nations, and remained
nited with Spain. Hitherto these hostile provinces
ad often brought ruin upon the southern countries
nd opposed an insuperable obstacle to their attain-
gh degree of prosperity. Had Sebastian's enter-
ded, he would have been ranked among the greatest
conquerors: the world judges generally by the
e enthusiastic love of his people, manifested not
his misfortunes, and on account of the unhappy
rs that ensued, but prior to them likewise, speaks
for Sebastian. He had succeeded in exciting the
of the entire nation for himself and his under-
d this success implies no mean capacity. As
however, intoxicated with the love of glory so
youth, staked, so to say, the whole power of the
n a single throw, and lost the hazardous game,
y consequence ensued, that together with the

prince the nation also perished. Alba warned hi
and zealously; his uncle Philip the Second dismi
coldly and with vague expressions. The latter r
himself master of Portugal, and thereby apparently a
his power, but in reality, by the unjust conquest,
way for the downfal of Spain. For it was prec
seizure of Portugal, accomplished as it was by viol
against the conviction and inclinations of the bu
Portuguese, and which of itself speedily occasion
revolution, that gave the Dutch the opportunity of b
great naval power by appropriating to themselve
portion of the Portuguese commerce and Portug
sessions in India. How different in this matter
views and conduct of Philip from those of his father
With what solicitude did Charles establish and i
uphold the amicable relations between the two na
states! It would have been no difficult matter fo
bitious king of Spain to take possession of Portug
by land was so much feebler. Even in the reign of
the old border-hatred had been succeeded by a
lasting concord, and to this happy state of things
brated partition-line, by which the pope divided
world between the two rival nations, had not a l
tributed. As the last important act of power exert
popes as umpires between the different nations, this
merits a place in history, and has also been ofte
topic of ridicule. We may readily acknowledge tha
world belonged to the pope as little as the ocea
without that partition-line, a war (and as is usual amo
tions stimulated by commercial jealousy), a desolatin
been unavoidable between the Spaniards and the P
its effect will at least have been beneficial. In m
commercial and naval wars of the seventeenth and
centuries, how happy would it have been, had a p
subsisted, which, without any other force than that of
possessed sufficient authority to draw a line of peac
upon the globe. The unity and the consolidation in
state of the Iberian peninsula may in itself appear n
desirable! The wisdom of Isabella and Charles pr
way for such an event by the mild means of family a
family concord, whereby in the course of time it wou

ally ensued. Philip's precipitate and violent con-
luced exactly the opposite effect,—insurrection,
nd a permanent separation. With Sebastian the
the nation was totally prostrated. Whether of the
etended Sebastians, the last, who first appeared in
d who terminated his life in a Spanish prison,
the real one, remains still doubtful. If he were,
r of Philip's secret acts of cruelty towards his own
ld be thereby increased.

narkable that, in the latter years of his life, ac-
the testimony and the detailed narratives of the
storians, a fearful remorse agitated and afflicted the
p. No conception of his character would be more
han to suppose him a mere selfish tyrant, without
l even perhaps without personal belief. Repent-
his, proves that the memory of lofty ideas was
ished in his breast. Less certain is the subject to
repentance more specially referred. It would
er to what posterity chiefly regards as the great error
f Philip—namely, his hostility to freedom, and his
eligious matters. On these points his convictions
rong to be shaken. He, perhaps, considered those
nost criminal, which he always strove so anxiously
and for which posterity would have soonest for-
had he otherwise corresponded to the wishes of
Or was it some of those secret acts he committed,
in his own family, in his immediate household?
spirits of the unhappy Carlos, of Don Juan,
of Sebastian, that now appeared to him?

* * * * *

riod immediately succeeding the death of Charles
seemed as though not only the states and na-
h had composed the hitherto united power of
l been partitioned between the two lines of his
s though his sentiments and qualities had been
ided and portioned out between them. Each of
ish as well as German Austria, understood but
f his comprehensive policy, and made it the
their acts. Charles had evinced alike inex-
tience and pliancy, while any hope of peace was
nshaken heroism when struggle and war were

unavoidable. The princes of Spanish Austria rets
clusively that firm devotion towards the ancient faitl
ancient constitution, which filled the soul of Cha
which he could only satisfy in Spain ; but they car
severity far beyond the bounds which the temper
of Charles could sanction.

Those of German Austria, on the other hand, fol
precedent of Charles's tolerant policy in German
pushed toleration and concession towards the new
even further, until they brought matters to such a
to avert the downfal of their house, as well as
hereditary states, and to set at least one firm barri
the headlong torrent of a fierce revolutionary opinion,
needed the almost marvellous heroism of an empero
by principles totally different, and of unwavering re

This excessive spirit of conciliation on the part o
Austro-German emperors, who immediately succeede
was one, but not the exclusive, cause of the thi
war. Germany drew all Europe more or less into
and after a brief period of delusive internal tranqui
evident impotence in external relations, vindicated i
rank of being the country, on whose state and dest
or less, depend, and ever will depend, the state an
of all the other countries and nations of Europe.

But ere I enter into any reflections on this grea
wherewith a new epoch in the world's history beg
necessary to cast a glance at the earlier civil and relig
of other countries, and on the state of Europe at t
when Spanish power, separated from Austria, exe
siderable influence over all western countries, althoug
betrayed unequivocal symptoms of its approaching d

As it was in England and France that, from the
set, the new religious party mostly acquired a poli
dency ; so likewise did it preserve that character th
in those countries, and even down to the struggle
own times. These struggles must be traced to the
parties of the Reformation, as to their first source.
we wish to explain the course of events by the lig
past. I have characterized the persecution of the P
under Lewis the Fourteenth as the last great ever
series of religious troubles, civil wars, popular insu

f oppression, that sprang out of the Reformation.
ecause, since that period, and especially since the
twen England and Austria in the time of Queen
ince Eugene, and the emperor Joseph the First,
gh that very alliance, to which, indeed, more than
her cause, Europe is indebted for the benefit of
igious toleration, more tolerant principles have, on
at least, predominated in Europe, and public
s ever more and more recognised them to be the
s only, however, in respect to the gradual diffusion
e prevalence of these better principles, only in
the predominant public opinion, that this epoch
nsidered as the termination of religious wars; for
to individual events, to the exceptions which have
ly occurred, it would be superfluous to call to mind
have been the commotions and troubles excited,
ry recent times, in Great Britain, and especially
by the suffering condition of the Catholics. The
on, and the peculiar form it assumed in each coun-
en the ruling element of power in modern history,
that of the commerce with India and America, so
the peculiar relations between England and her
colonies have been chiefly formed by this event,
ndependence of the latter been prepared by it.
violent Protestant sects, or those at least which dis-
m the church established in the mother country,
rnished the majority of those emigrants from home,
state was often glad enough to be disburthened in
way of such perilous and inflammable matter.
se sects acquired a decided preponderance in the
and in the national spirit of the colonies. In the
me, it is true, circumstances became so very com-
o infinitely varied, that it were too broad a pro-
lay down,—that Great Britain was a Protestant
ased on the principles of the moderate Protestants,
retained the episcopal hierarchy and the ancient
ary constitution, while British America was a
public. We shall, however, be never able satis-
o explain the fundamental principles of the British
Forth American constitutions, the great difference
onal spirit of the British and the American people,

without going back to their primal sources—the
tion, and the wars and parties which issued from it
the period of these first troubles, the strife and ha
tween the two parties into which the new religion
divided—between the moderate and the rigid Prot
between the sects which supported episcopal a
authority, and those which were more favourable to
and equality, were well-nigh more fierce and more e
than between the adherents of the ancient and
faith: so likewise in France was the contest bet
rigid and the moderate Catholics, the Guises a
opponents, not less ardent.

In England, as we easily perceive, those two
parties—the Republican Protestants and those fav
episcopal and royal authority—the Puritans and th
palians, prevail even to our own days, only under t
names of Whigs and Tories. In France, however, in
of the moderate and zealous Catholics, who conte
waged war so vehemently against each other, a co
substituted, with some modification of the object c
between two parties, which also were both Catho
contest, namely, between the Jansenists and the Jesu
dispute, which exerted so decisive an influence on
nies of France, was prolonged till about the per
the harbingers of the last revolution in all thi
already visible. Thus, although under altered na
the civil wars which arose in France and England c
religious schism been protracted, even down to the m
times, with vehement animosity, and with the most
consequences as regards the state and the nation itse
the elements of discord have not been, even in our
really composed. Very different, however, was the
which the Reformation exercised in Spain, and
which it took in Germany. In England and in Fr
weaker party in the former country, namely the
on the one hand and the Puritans on the other, in
the Protestants, was indeed weak enough to be
and persecuted, but, nevertheless, powerful enou
sist by dangerous reaction any attempt at extirpa
Spain and Germany, on the contrary, peace was es
although by different means. In Spain it was brou

crushing and destroying the influence of the Re-
the only province in which this was not accom-
ing severed from the monarchy. The excessive
which the government had recourse, in consequence
l popular insurrections, and which again tended only
its policy, sowed the germ of that apathy, that
h, that bereaved the religious peace and unity ob-
l preserved in that country of all internal vital
although concealed at first by an illusive show of
ory. In Germany peace was established, not as in
the victory of the one party over the other, but
the equality in power of both parties—by the
ty of the one entirely conquering the other.
ity of strength in the Catholic and the Protestant
Germany tended to postpone the contest, which,
or that reason, when at last it did break out, was
ore fearful and protracted. Hence, the peace that
sulted only from the exhaustion of the belligerent
d settled no differences except by the mutual con-
t it was impossible for the one party to subdue the
he consequent recognition of a mutual *statu quo*,
xed, precise, and permanent demarcation between
rties. Spain had purchased her peace and unity
rifice of her freedom. The peace that Germany
the end of her religious wars was, with regard
relations, but a state of permanent disunion. The
and passions—the offspring of religious discord—
France and England were still so fiercely displayed,
extinguished, from the sense of the impossibility of
by both parties. The ferment which continued
untries ceased in Germany, peace was restored to
mind. So it appeared to be at least, and it might
ave really become so. What actually ensued,
was not a true unity, but an indifference, which,
titution that did not bind the conflicting members
together, but merely kept them asunder by means
balance of power, necessarily led sooner or later
isorganization of the body politic. Luther's ap-
the Diet of Worms was the primary cause that was
to bring about in the course of time the dissolution
man empire, and the division of the German nation.

I named the parties engaged in the sanguinary c
England and France, moderate and rigid Protestan
rate and zealous Catholics. This, however, req
explanation; for the epithet *moderate* has been
merely for the sake of distinguishing one party from
and is not to be understood in a strict sense. The
of the Anglican church on many points undoubtedly
mated more than the Puritans to Catholic doctrin
were even often reproached and were hated by the
this very approximation, and so far they may be call
rate. The mode, however, in which they often ca
practice their theories on the absolute power of k
played as little moderation as their proceedings again
parties. Still less does that Catholic party in Fran
was opposed to the strict Catholics, merit the prais
moderation. It was the court party, and under
kings of the house of Valois, this party, it is true, was
disposed to enter into an alliance with the Protestan
ceeding utterly condemned by the zealous part
Guises. But such an alliance sprang not out of a gen
of peace, nor from any principle of religious toler
was solely the fruit of that immoral policy, which
religion as a mere tool, and the most fearful and
agitation only as a field for playing off a game
politics. The blind zeal of those who, in behalf of c
other creed, acted with passion or systematic harsh
severity, was far less the occasion of general blo
individual crime, than that frightful levity and spi
trigue, which trifled with the faith and the passion
people. Our moral judgment can scarcely avoid g
preference to the Guises, when we compare thei
with the unbounded degeneracy of the court in the
the last Valois. In despite of their great qual
settled principles, the Guises were yet dangerous t
because, strict Catholics as they were, they likewise
struggles for the crown constituted a Spanish part
had the mighty kingdom of France, which under F
First was able to cope with the power of Charles t
been reduced by internal discord to such a pitch of
tion, that a foreign party, a Spanish party, existed
bosom; and more than once the moment appeared

ıce was to fall utterly under Spanish influence, and
a Spanish dependency.
and as well as in France, religious divisions and
p had reached the throne, and the reigning dynasty
s the people. In contemplating the history of the
d the Stuarts, we would almost think that certain
hat a definite character, could be hereditary in
nd remain unchanged in them for several gene-
ether. We see all these Tudors, who reigned for
fficiently long to enable them to unfold and display
ples, aim unceasingly at one and the same object,—
despotism. This was even the case with Henry
h, as observant historians have not failed to remark.
the Eighth this disposition was manifested with
ndisguised cruelty. His daughter Elizabeth had
nherited the sentiments of her father, though her
portment was more composed. Cold and impene-
rved, as skilled in dissimulation as William of
ıe resembled him also in unwearied pertinacity,
the attainment of one object. By this one quality
lished much not only for the Protestant cause, but
l itself; and on this account so much praise has
ed upon her. If, however, we direct our chief
o her personal character, such as history really
ıer heart will scarcely appear in a more favourable
hat of her powerful antagonist, Philip the Second.
s which the latter carried on against her, not only
fferences, but also personal animosity, may have
contributed. When Philip the Second was in
th his consort Queen Mary, Elizabeth, in conse-
ıe troubles which preceded the accession of Mary
ish throne, was in confinement, and was indebted
intercession alone for her liberty and the preserva-
ife. This circumstance Philip could scarcely have
hen Elizabeth, by supporting the insurgent Nether-
licted subsequently so much disgrace and injury
That he aimed at the conquest of England by his
ırmada, which was scattered by the tempest, is
ble; the right of the Stuarts to the throne was
t, and it was precisely the idea of rescuing the
ary, who was suffering for the sake of her reli-

gion, that excited the enthusiasm of the Spania
rendered the war popular with the nation. Had t
been successful, a general rising of the Catholics
undoubtedly been possible. Such an event might
Elizabeth the crown; and in that case, if the St
succeeded her, Spanish influence would have been g
strongly felt in England. From the unfortunate M
to Queen Anne, the last of this dynasty who re
England, we find almost all the Stuarts endowed w
lect, knowledge, imagination, refinement, and amiable
in abundant measure. The coldness, the measured
the perseverance, and sagacity of the Tudors, howe
often to the detriment of their fortunes, wanting to th
With these qualities and manners, even had several
of the Stuart family had less leaning towards the
creed, the sentiments of the rigid Protestant party in
would have been little congenial. Influenced by
dilections, and by earlier family ties, they forme
connections; at first allied themselves with Spain,
sequently fell under the influence of France; a
foreign connections it was that, as in the case of t
Guises, led to their downfal. In France, as w
England, the feeling of national unity was ever so st
any, often perhaps only apparent, violation of it wa
punished. It was only in Germany that, from th
Maurice of Saxony, parties and party leaders c
impunity be under foreign influence.

In France, after the termination of the civil wa
the Fourth appeared to promise a new golden age.
all his military qualities, his genius, and his person
lity, he had learned, in the long strife of parties, a
as he had been far from the throne, and without an
succeeding to it, to accommodate himself to circumst
to bind the minds of others precisely as his o
required. With all his natural openness he had mu
wisdom, and won hearts as much by what he seem
as what he really was. Before him the times
fearful, and after his death the nation found cause
wish him once more among them; this must have b
the lustre of his qualities, loved and admired as
his people All, moreover, that was accomplishe

d by Sully was attributed by posterity (and in part on) to Henry, and made his brief history still more nd important.

itical sentiments and principles in respect to Europe l were only distinguishable by a better outward and not in their essence, from those of the other France. What chiefly claims our attention in this his idea of a universal Christian republic, in which as to have been divided into several hereditary and kingdoms and free states, and the contests between ctive powers were to have been decided by a general parliament, pretty much as all internal disputes in anic empire were composed by the imperial diet and ribunals of Germany.

ay easily suppose that France was not forgotten in ne, and, if the whole of it had been realized, was to sided, and to have enjoyed the supreme influence. ous plan of a Christian European republic is in the e only a striking and melancholy proof, how much urer ideas and principles of earlier times had been in the religious wars; how deeply Europe had political morality, in consequence of these revolu- The idea of a moral bond of union and an alliance all Christian states and nations, which had for cen- en the basis of all public relations and proceedings in and Italy, and whose fuller realization had been revented by the selfish policy of the kings of France as now presented to the world as nothing less than a nvention, which was only too admirable to be prac- nforced, and in lieu whereof other maxims were in time adopted in practice. The plan may, it is true, n impracticable as to the details, which had already ceived in idea, because no power as yet existed to f Europe at pleasure. In the features of this picture rn nothing more than the old schemes of aggrandize- characteristic of the older French history, as well as to the house of Austria. A war of France against ight perhaps be considered just. Spain had exer- nsiderable influence over the affairs of France, and l numerous adherents in that country. Spain had dled in the internal troubles of France, and hence

the right of retaliation might here at least be allege
danger, however, for France was at that time to
hended from Germany or Austria? In this quart
remotest provocation was given to a just war. He
not even use the pretext of seeking to protect relig
dom from oppression in Germany, except perhaps
fashion of his predecessor Henry the Second, who c
self the protector of German liberty, while for his
he was dismembering German cities from the empi
gious freedom was so far from being oppressed, the
the two religious parties was so great in Germa
there were any preponderance of real power on eit
lay on that of the Protestants. In Germany,
peace had been already long established betwee
parties, and their mutual relations had been dev
defined in a more legal and equitable manner, tha
hitherto the case in France or in any other country
That Henry did all in his power to destroy this
to introduce a fearful civil war into Germany, ca
be justified except upon the principles of that immo
which the kings of France had followed at a
period, when at Paris they caused the Protestants
cuted, while in Germany they stimulated them to
against the emperor, and in general used religion a
wars as a mere game of ambition and an instrum
furtherance of conquest. More than any other
the secret originator of the thirty years' war; he
kindled its fearful flames, and in this respect he
the very principles whereby Richelieu became su
the cause of so much suffering in Germany;
Henry's life been prolonged, he would, moreove
brilliant qualities as a general and a monarch, ha
infinitely more injury upon Germany than lay in
of Richelieu.

Holland, a state that was only now beginni
exercised a far more effective influence than
Fourth and his favourite scheme in reviving on
idea of a Christian European commonwealth, of
equitable and moral relations between all the diff
and nations of Europe. Holland, although a st
extent, occupied in the seventeenth and the earlier

century a most important position in general
This republic subsequently originated a totally new
political system, and formed a new epoch in his-
the struggle which the Netherlanders sustained,
ne maintenance of their ancient rights, and then for
vement of their full independence, Catholics and
ts were originally united. These religious differ-
s true, led to the rupture of the revolted provinces,
sioned the reunion of Brabant with Spain, while
emained permanently severed. The influence, how-
his alliance of different religious parties for the sake
common defence and from motives of common
remained very great. It was in Holland that
of genuine toleration were first developed, and a
peace established, which was not, as in France and
accompanied by the oppression of one party, and
merely to subserve a political object; nor, as in
a peace consisting in the recognition of mutual
ough attended with permanent hostility, and hence,
a mere truce, a suspension of arms, but a real
sed upon inward convictions and knit by moral ties.
ntageous results of this religious pacification were
ediately evinced in the intellectual and scientific cul-
rein Holland speedily outstripped all the countries
taken part in the general convulsions of the time.
rope became divided by the religious schism, the
and scientific cultivation of each country and
kewise became more confined within the natural
ne literary intercourse and union, which had till then
ither altogether ceased, or was much relaxed. In
otius, Holland was the first since the Reformation
once more a European scholar, like those who were
ior to that event, or at still earlier periods, and of
en in the first years of the Reformation, some still
He was a scholar who exerted the greatest
upon his age, upon all Europe, and, we may even
the history of the world. The large share he took
mation of modern international law is alone sufficient
sh the truth of this assertion; while, by his compre-
arning and largeness of mind, he rose so superior to
angry controversy, that though, beyond comparison,

the first of Protestant scholars, he was withal so ho
the ancient church, that she almost accounted him
sons. Even in Holland, Grotius did not altogeth
persecution on the part of more narrow-minded think
at that time, in any other country, a spirit like
scarcely have sprung up, could hardly have atta
moderation, such loftiness of views. If Hollan
remain wholly free from all agitation, yet never
agitation come to such frightful outbreaks as in F
England; a result to which the ceaseless vigilance
for self-defence in a state of such limited extent
dangerous a position greatly contributed.

After the Reformation, the several countries and
Europe became much isolated; the general inte
Europe was almost suspended.

The western nations alone, under the stil
derating influence of Spain, retained any close unio
the age of Charles the Fifth, the thirty years' wa
almost every power took part, and which gave birt
system of political relations, and to a new confi
Europe, was the first great European event. T
clear insight into this great event, we must first ca
at the different countries of Europe, and consider t
form which the Reformation assumed among th
first of all, let us look to the kingdoms of the north
Sweden, which was soon to take so important a
the theatre of history. Even the manner in whi
doctrines were introduced into these countries is p
remarkable. In the neighbouring country of De
deed, they were at once diffused with the first
innovation from Germany, but in the extreme
found but few partisans. In Norway and in
introduction of the new opinions was almost th
violence. In Sweden the popular sentiment was
favourable to Protestantism, and so strong was the
to the ancient faith in that country, that Gustavu
spite the glory he had gained and the love he had
a youth by the liberation of his country, yet needed
of a pliant, steady, unwearied perseverant policy
matched William of Orange and Elizabeth of Engl
he could accomplish what he had made the almo

s long reign, and make Sweden Lutheran. Like
tribes in the mountainous cantons in Switzerland,
of the north, who in so many respects resemble
ants of the Alps, would be little attracted by the
es, not only on account of the attachment to ancient
ch is always characteristic of such races, but be-
opinions appeal chiefly to the understanding. This
ll more the case, since many corruptions, imputed
church, many immoralities charged upon her
ere probably alien to the simple manners of these
habitants, and remained unknown to them. To
rcumstance, that these northern countries became
hat the principles of Zwingli and of Calvin
mission there, are we to ascribe the great influence
en in after-times exercised over Germany, where
n party was decidedly predominant. Another
iarity, also, distinguishing these lands from other
hich took part in the new movement, is attri-
he same cause; namely, that they enjoyed internal
no civil wars broke out there. Slight as the
etween Luther's and Calvin's doctrines has often
has nevertheless produced such great results in
of the world, that in every country where the
f Calvin gained ground beside those of Luther,
y new political ideas unfolded, and great political
ie. How favourable, after the suppression of the
commotions, have been Luther's doctrines to the
inces in Germany has been already stated. This
have occurred to a still greater extent in the
e the new opinions were not brought in by the
torrent of a popular movement, but (especially in
re wholly introduced by the arbitrary will of the
It is very conceivable that the doctrines esta-
Calvin and Zwingli in Sweden, developed in
d thence, as from a secure haven, diffused through
other countries, would have a far more republican
This republican spirit attained its culminant point
estant opposition party of the Puritans in Eng-
total difference of political principles between the
parties of the Protestants has been attended with
nd wide-spread historical consequences, as far as

North America and down to the most recent time
must not rest contented with pointing out the mer
causes. We think it necessary, therefore, to refe
words to the internal causes of a difference so re
Of the Protestant doctrines it has been said that th
tute a pure religion of the understanding. By some
been extolled for bringing the imagination and the
the senses under the strictest control of the und
and of morality. By others again, those doctrines
considered as injurious, for cramping too much the
of the imagination, and thus proving especially un
to the progress of the fine arts. Now in this respe
leading Protestant parties in the first period of th
tions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuri
from each other, and this very difference explain
their antagonistic political tendencies, as the one was
to monarchy, the other more inclined to republican
cause of this difference lay precisely in the distinctiv
of their doctrines, little as, at the first glance, this div
appear essential to the superficial views of our time. C
is distinguished from every other religion, based like
the doctrines of one almighty God, and of an imm
of rewards and punishments, by this principle. Th
doctrine of the Godhead does not propose a mere s
ception of the understanding, as is the case in
religion of philosophers, or even in the creed of Mah
from assuming that the fulness of the divinity can b
by the reason, the Christian religion rather rep
divine essence as a mystery impenetrable to the r
this is the first difference between Mahometans and
in their views of the Godhead. In Christianity n
essence of the Godhead, but also the mode in whic
reveals himself to, and enters into communion with
the mode in which man reunites himself and appr
God, is conceived and represented as a mystery,
understanding cannot altogether compass and co
which must act chiefly on the heart and the i
Now the earlier Lutherans agreed altogether with
lies in this recognition of the mysterious, and th
plains why so many unprejudiced men on both
commencement considered a reunion of the church

mon recognition of the mysterious, the two parties
agreed upon the first and most essential princi-
ry principles which it would be most difficult for
ned in the school of the philosophers to admit and
ate. The doctrines of Calvin and Zwingli, on the
y their denial of mystery in the most essential of all
es, reached and shook the deepest foundations of
t faith. The great diversity was speedily and
displayed even in externals. As belief in the in-
sible, precisely because the object of faith is not to
ended by the understanding alone, naturally leads
cal representations and allusions, so the ancient
l not only regarded as essential various outward
ns, and rites, but tolerated, nay encouraged, all
nblematic representations, employing the fine arts
ification of faith.

e external symbols were rejected by the Calvinistic
ut mercy, nay even with hatred, as utterly perni-
they thereby showed their doctrine to be a pure belief
erstanding. But this remark is by no means appli-
e older Lutherans, because they still recognised the
ystery itself, the principle of all that external sym-
Hence, also, they retained far more external rites
Calvinists; and as, moreover, the ancient church
ot esteem all these rites to be equally old, essen-
portant, they would easily have adopted still more,
nost of them, provided only peace and reconciliation
vise been possible. Another remarkable difference
ne two leading Protestant parties consisted in this,
ther and later sects, whereof many even in recent
England and America at least, have possessed no in-
le political influence, sprang out of Calvinism. In
there was originally implanted a principle of pro-
hange and continuous innovation, as whatever is
by the understanding necessarily alternates from one
o the other.* Hence, also, in the earlier period, the
creed rapidly surpassed the Lutheran in intellectual
nt; the principle of this progressive and perpetual
ntained the germ of endless agitation. At a much

* evidently an allusion to the contradictions of modern German
as predicted by Kant.

later period the Lutheran party, it is true, fell here into a kind of internal dissolution, which likewise a considerable part of the Catholic church; but of of which the Calvinistic party was so fruitful, i scarcely one; nay, the Lutherans were agreed orig the ancient church in teaching that the faith in the such as it had been once revealed, could suffer n alteration. Of most importance, however, is th which this one fundamental difference must hav over political opinion. In the same relation as in of faith, the incomprehensible idea of the deity, ac heart and the imagination, stands to the pure conception of God; so in the domain of politics, the living, the visible representative of justice, who ne scribes to the understanding and the will what is la but also claims the heart and affections of his peopl appeals to the imagination by the splendour of exter in that very same relation, we say, stands the king letter of the law which reason requires in the stat mere reason, where the views and doctrines of predominate, there will the exclusive sovereignty o garded as the essence of the state, which any fore ture can only render impure, and where the living tive of the law will be at most regarded and tolerate unessential appendage, a temporary expedient neces unenlightened multitude. There are other facul however, besides the understanding, which assign fa portance and dignity to royalty, and teach us to re as an imperfection in the state, which will pass aw advance of civilization, but as the real essence the it is not from an accidental, but from an essential principle, that the ancient church (and on thi Lutherans agree with it) is more monarchical Zwinglian and Calvinistic communities in Switze land, England, and North America, are more republicanism. This is not said in censure, but sim the internal causes of what has actually occurred. can deny that in the abovenamed countries this spirit has produced, together with some passing cont and glorious results beneficial to mankind?

LECTURES XVII. & XVIII.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR TO LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

tzerland, after its first successful war of inde-
became a considerable, even a great, military
lid Sweden also, when it was emancipated from
In Europe, powers of apparently inconsiderable
ıave usually brought about the most decided
at least have the most influenced its historical
ius did Venice in the times of the Crusades, Swit-
ring the Burgundian and Italian wars; and as
the commencement of the eighteenth century gave
to Europe, so did Sweden predominate in the
century, and in the earlier half of that age
ance herself in splendour. In martial courage,
f manners, and in qualities of race, Switzerland and
re similar. Yet there were also great differences
em. In Switzerland there were from early times
lements totally different from each other; Berne,
was all Switzerland, and moreover thirsting for
n the most comprehensive scale; and then the
es, who simply desired freedom on their mountains,
now and then induced to join in those compre-
hemes, but never prosecuted them heartily, and
t all. Between these lay Zurich, with different
rom the others, and involved in a closer connection
any; we pass over many other differences and
ous elements. Had those daring schemes succeeded,
n once seemed possible, a part of Suabia, Alsace, the
y, and Milan would perhaps have been incorporated;
on the shores of the Mediterranean, favourably
the commerce of a free state, would have been
nd warlike Berne might have become as powerful
efore the second Punic war. The strength of the
great, but was never quite united, as was that of the
ually distinguished for martial courage, under a
beloved king of his people, sprung from the house
is Vasa, the liberator. Yet, under the immediate

descendants of Gustavus Vasa, it appeared as if the faith were about to triumph again over the new Protest through the new dynasty itself; and this was not s considering the manner in which the latter had been i by Gustavus Vasa. The first enterprises of this libera tial, and conquest-loving people and their king wer primarily for the sovereignty of the Baltic and its coa the disputed maritime provinces of the Teutonic orde Poland and Prussia. The Protestant faith trium the war with Poland not only nerved the strength o but was the occasion of her interference in the Ger Poland (although after her union with Lithuania, a able power) had been wholly absorbed by her own those of her immediate neighbours, Prussia, R Turkey, and had taken no part in the great Europ gles under Charles the Fifth. The extinction of th race of Jagellon now for the first time involved h affairs and disputes of Europe in general. For the a foreign prince appeared advisable, probably in orde rivalries among native grandees of equal power; un sovereign, likewise, all who were powerful enough to and to enforce what they desired, might expect fulle than under a native ruler. The first trial with prince, afterwards King Henry the Third of Franc terminated in mutual disgust, and in the secret flig stranger. That a prince of Transylvania should same time king of Poland was an arrangement t appear advantageous, from their common warfare a Turks. Under the established constitution, if a for were not to remain a mere shadow, without power rity, he must have been chosen from some neighbo not very remote kingdom; if he even possessed and such a kingdom, it would not have been injurious to because this additional power would be a distant an and not a domestic one. By ideas of this kind, th men of the nation must have been guided, since in a we invariably find two parties, a Swedish and an one; the latter on several occasions brought abou of Austrian princes, which, however, were never fi sisted in. On the part of Austria such election little sought for, that the first election came quite un

l motives that determined the proceedings of these
re been already alluded to. The ancient con-
h Hungary, the bond of a common defence against
and the identity of the dominant religion, all
rour of Austria. The house of Sweden, notwith-
tained the upper hand; but, as Sigismund was a
e lost the Swedish crown, and he connected himself
of relationship with the imperial house of Austria.
with Gustavus Adolphus, however, he rather
an gained assistance from that quarter, as Austria
ich engaged with contests in her own neighbour-
id him any aid. Russia, which in the time of
the First, after the ravages of the Mongols, had
Vasilowich the Great to the rank of a first-rate
on the extinction of its ancient dynasty fell into
ion. Sweden and Poland contended for the prize
ian crown, and the armies of both penetrated deep
rt of the country. The nation finally rallied under
ive dynasty, and preserved its independence,
ith the loss of some provinces. Russia was still
m, the rest of Europe, less by its remoteness than
ion to the Greek church. Upon that church the
Protestantism, despite several attempts, exerted
ntest influence. But as far as the dominion of the
urch extended, so far also did the influence of the
es spread; and in Poland and Hungary that in-
very considerable. The difference of the effects
rmation on these countries, from those it produced
ropean states, was that, together with the Protest-
nised in Germany and all northern countries, such
re not tolerated at all, either in Germany or in the
ope, repaired to Poland and Transylvania. Tole-
ifferent sects had been long introduced there by
s a large portion of the population belonged to the
matic church; and if this was not a formal, deli-
gnised principle of state, yet a refuge for those
ot elsewhere tolerated, was more easily found in
ries, if only from their domestic policy and admi-
ing, after the manner of oriental kingdoms, com-
ax. In Hungary and Transylvania this was the
e, as the former was divided between Austrian and

Turkish rule, and the latter fluctuated alternately be
two powers. In Hungary, where the influence o
formation was particularly strong, by reason of the
nection of that country with Germany, its most imme
was still further to increase those heterogeneous el
which these kingdoms even in respect to race and
were composed. Whether this diversity of interna
should one day lead to more general principles o
toleration, such as were never realized even in Ho
Germany; whether this very diversity were to be
with a richer variety in the organization of the w
politic, or were to bring about only disunion and a
all this was reserved for the future, to the spirit t
animate it, and to the heroes it might produce. N
one great lawgiver and organizer of the nation had
reckoned among her kings; but what they had ac
well as all the fruits of Italian and German ci
perished for the most part in the ravages of th
Poland, though spared from this misfortune, yet, a
many kings, distinguished for martial prowess, neve
one except the great Lewis, who ruled both kingdo
as a great lawgiver, founder, and organizer of the n
for Poland, what Stephen, in the middle age, and
Corvinus, at the revival of learning, were for
The immediate effect of the spread of the Reformati
country, from the then prevailing rancour of mind
render this portion of her dominions more ineffecti
house of Austria. Under Maximilian the Secon
some provinces of Hungary were wrested from th
and still more successfully under Rodolph the Se
only Transylvania, but all Wallachia, which, by
energy under a brave prince, had thrown off the
yoke, and were brought under the imperial soverei
protection. But from the influence of the religiou
and from the discord and wars thence arising, ev
again vanished; and Hungary, divided in faith, add
the power than to the dangers of the imperial hou
time when Ferdinand the Second saved it from
struction.

As early as the reign of Ferdinand the First, t
inward ferment showed itself, which the propagati

nes had produced, and which, in the latter years
h the Second, attained so fearful a height. To-
se who had been disloyal to him in the Smalcald
bhemia, Ferdinand, who was undoubtedly neither
despotic, believed himself bound to act with
How tolerant he was in religious matters, both in
nd in his feelings, is well known. Still more so
s's beloved Maximilian the Second; but howsoever
hy was this quality in itself, still he was, perhaps,
t for those times. When two parties are once
n a decisive struggle, he who is called upon to be
nd leader of one party, may not push moderation
e other so far, as to destroy the confidence of his
n their leader, or even to induce some of them to
r own colours, and pass over to the principles and
their adversaries. Not the hostility of the Roman
h made so much a matter of reproach against the
rian emperors of the German line, concerning
ppily it was impossible for them to avoid or to
the expectation of the Elector Palatine, that
should declare himself for the Protestants, nor
challenge for him to do so; but the uncertainty in
nind, among Catholics, no less than Protestants, as
convictions, and the consequences which such un-
ust necessarily have produced, lead us to assign
cause of that great commotion, which broke out
rian states at the end of Rodolph's reign, the too
ess and clemency of Maximilian. That he was
elfish withal, that he was in himself anything
a waverer, that it was the love of toleration
was at the bottom of his actions, all this may
palliate the noble fault, that his sentiments were
above those of his own age for him to follow
t danger for the future. Hence, though it may
e, that by his too great leniency he only helped
hose violent outbreaks which he sought to avert,
ntions must not therefore be mistaken. Had he
eigned longer, he would probably have seen the
uniting firmness with mildness; and then the
tations which had been formed of him as em-
have been fully realized. Distinguished quali-

ties of mind and heart he possessed in abundant
and he had also given undoubted proofs of courage
tary capacity. To allay the ferment that had risen
the shade of this clemency, Rodolph the Second
suited, although in intellect and learning he far
most of his contemporaries. His thoughts were
home upon the earth; how then must that age, wit
bittered passions and often petty and selfish conte
appeared in his eyes, who was wont, and loved
better than to be alone with Tycho Brahe and K
contemplate, in the starry heavens, the laws of eter
and harmony. This taste was not with him an idle
he not only followed the ideas and observations of th
men, but was himself a learned investigator in
branches of physical science. He was the less a
true, to be, and to accomplish what, in his position,
that pressure of menacing events and approaching
was expected and demanded of him. Yet his repu
affairs, very conceivable in his temper of mind, wa
difference to the public weal. Even in his latter st
he appeared wholly abstracted and sick in mind
busy with projects of a general pacification. But h
the peace, which contemplation and the love of na
implanted in his own heart, then find entrance int
bittered minds of that contentious age? This unh
of mind, and ultimate mental malady of Rodolph,
with the impatient vehemence of the ambitious
who, by the consent of the princes of the house, an
the voice of Germany, was called upon to grasp the
helm of the state in Rodolph's place, now produc
reigning house itself a discord and excitement, w
dered that existing among the people and in the
tremely dangerous. In his youth, when summon
Netherlands during the first commotions in tha
Mathias had already shown that he was wanting in
and moderation. He ought, at least, not to have u
the prince of Orange, and forcibly expelled Don
the country. By such a policy he utterly failed
plishing the great and noble object in which h
lay; namely, to be a protector of the Netherland
diator and peacemaker between that land and S

reased the mistrust and alienation, which already
etween Spanish and German Austria. On taking
of his deposed brother, Mathias displayed none of
ant, great, and benevolent qualities, which alone
e caused his ambitious intrigues to be forgot-
en the unavoidable pressure of events seemed to
n with a fate similar to that which he had pre-
is brother, how differently, and with what dignity
tion did Ferdinand act on assuming the dangerous
ich he alone, as all men felt, possessed the courage
h to maintain with honour. As once all eyes
upon Charles the Fifth, when by a decisive elec-
s called upon the great stage of the world's his-
ere they now upon Ferdinand; who, too, was
to a not less great and important, but most
perilous contest. On all sides that wild storm
now gathering, which had so long hung menacing
ny like a heavy thunder-cloud, which appears to
to return, and break forth with redoubled fury.
lisposing elements for this civil strife had long
en the peace, which Ferdinand concluded between
ts of the new and of the ancient faith, when his
rles left Germany after the defection of Maurice,
truce, and was, moreover, no very definite one.
the love of peace of the emperors, and that of
l Lutheran princes after the death of Maurice,
it. When Maurice of Saxony was snatched by
death from his ambitious schemes, the first and
ger indeed passed away. With his penetrating
profound dissimulation, his ambition, if it could
tained the sovereignty over Germany (for to that
ssessed not the faith and confidence of the people,
avus Adolphus afterwards knew how to win)—
n, we say, would have easily given rise to
At this time the Margrave of Brandenburg had
covered the secret, which is the key to all the
of the heroes of the thirty years' war, the secret
by the war itself the means of supporting the
the Count of Mansfeld and Christian of Halber-
e commencement of the thirty years' war, did the
Albert, sixty years before, make the defenceless

ecclesiastical states the chief theatre of his devast
ditions. The German constitution, that mass of
too weak to carry on war, and yet sufficiently ric
ductive to afford the means of supporting one,
hung together so loosely since the imperial power
to be effective; this, and the general prosperity s
so lax, and in part, at least, so defenceless a c
rendered it possible for Germany to become, for t
the theatre of a war, that when once enkindled c
burn on, feeding itself like a devastating flame.
love of peace entertained by the emperors and t
Lutheran powers, especially Saxony, the special
dispute might have been easily settled. Even the
Gebhard, the Elector of Cologne, when he beca
testant, to retain his territory as a temporal prin
quarrel it provoked, did not long disturb the p
Neither did the contest for the vacant duchy of
Cleves lead to any general war, although it mig
have done so, if, by the internal troubles whic
afresh in France, on the death of Henry the
power had not been prevented from engaging i
The general state of relations, however, betwee
and Protestants must have inclined both parties
more to war. The strength on each side was
equal, but in reality there was a great differ
Catholics had authority on their side, since even
electors would often rally round the emperor; th
ancient constitution, the forms, and for the mo
majority of the constitutional assemblies and tri
them. The Protestants, on the other hand, had
the people, and all the impulse of the spirit of t
perilous state of things, in which for the most part
tage was only too much on the side of the Prot
has been often asserted, that the confiscated ecclesi
were chiefly applied to objects of public utility; a
to the smaller and mediate ecclesiastical estate
have been the case. But if at all times, as long
manic constitution had existed, the arbitrary seiz
city of the empire, although even an inconsidera
been unanimously regarded as a breach of that cons
even as a just cause for war, how much more, t

power among the chief princely houses altered by tion of entire prince-bishoprics, which were even limbs and portions of the empire? It is self- t such an alteration could not be termed legitimate, it were one-sided, and made without the unani- e of the whole empire, and of its head. It is that if a prince elected for life (as was the grand- ne Teutonic order, and every ecclesiastical elector) nounces the primary conditions of his election and he is not entitled to make any claim upon the sovereignty attached to those conditions. It is that for so simple a principle of law any express l reservation should have been needed. The , notwithstanding, refused to acknowledge it; and ion was undoubtedly great, when so fair an oppor- ented itself for greatly strengthening their party ating their doctrines. Hence we must not be some on the other side began to think peace an er all. it did not insure them safety, and was ever d by fresh encroachments, and perhaps to wish in the pressure of events had never brought it about. hat so much had been conceded. In a contest -grown power, hostile to the ancient constitution more is conceded by the first legal recognition obtained by any military success, which, however still subject to chance. On the other hand, the athy, which the Protestant princes took in the fate ow-religionists under Catholic sovereigns, appears l even unavoidable. And yet this sympathy pro- dangerous consequences to the mutual relations of their people. How easily could the protection ne hands of a foreign power by its co-religionists beyond the limits of what was lawful by the multitude; how easily could the evil designs of a it to a really criminal alliance.

t not in general transfer the circumstances of the to those times. When, on the first outbreak of s in the Netherlands, four hundred churches were n three days; when, even before the breaking out y years' war, the Protestant subjects of a Catholic er listening to the ardent harangues of their

teachers, loudly expressed the conviction that it w
to live under the Turkish than under a Catholic yo
certainly was no question of mere difference in
thinking, but the state itself was directly endanger
when these passions have been long extinguished,
for the state to leave every citizen peaceably to
own convictions. But were the greatest preacher
tion in our country to have been placed on the most
throne of those days, he would have been unable
change the dominant spirit, the men, and the circ
of the state, and to realize by his mere will what
be the gradual fruit of time.

Premature mildness and the pacific spirit of a
mind, in the midst of the perilous circumstances
the state was placed (as was the case with Maxi
Rodolph), rather serve to precipitate an outbreak,
more dangerous, than to avert it. In modern tim
have seen the workings of violent opinions (which,
not directly concern faith, have at least some refe
and are of a kindred nature) upon the state and
destinies of nations. Opinions in that age were p
more deeply rooted, passions more hotly inflame
stances much more complicated from the close co
the external church with the state, the bonds of
later times, have been much weakened and relaxe
to the Reformation, the princes have acquired gr
rity in religious matters; although a formal supre
as was introduced in England, was never taught in
As the Protestant princes recognised no superior h
their judge, they acted as they pleased, and their
often partook of an arbitrary and violent chara
peatedly within a short space of time was the
compelled, by the will of its sovereign, to change
within a short time it was first Calvinistic, then
then again Calvinistic, and many thousand te
functionaries, who refused to acquiesce in these ch
forced to quit the country. Can Catholic princes
for claiming the same right over their Protesta
that Protestant princes exerted over so many Ca
which even one Protestant party thought it mig
over another? Yet in Austria this only was had

vas evidently the sole means of saving the state. e ourselves in the circumstances of those times, we mediately convinced that if one party were not to triumph, but if Catholics and Protestants were e to live together in Germany, no other course ossible than to adopt the principle, which was in e foundation of Ferdinand's policy, namely, to Protestants fully and freely to emigrate. This arsh to us, it is true, with our present views, but better than permanent mistrust between the people rince, than constantly renewed insurrections and es, entailing both cruel punishments and severe e measure was less harsh at least than the expe- ed by the triumphant Protestant and royalist party d to the weaker republican minority, of seeking s in another hemisphere. In Germany, on the l, from the multitude and variety of larger and atholic and Protestant states, the emigrants were ain of meeting with protection, a kindly reception, w home among their fellow-religionists in some ng German country.

gration of so many industrious members was doubt- s to the state; and as such, we are inclined to matter so obvious was not overlooked by the states- day; but they had not then learned to subordinate n of men to the revenue to be derived from their In a later, and in many respects more refined age, is the Fourteenth sought by compulsion to enforce faith in his kingdom, and yet withal to save his from any considerable loss, the measure he pre- to convert his Protestant subjects by military co- l at the same time to prohibit their emigration. As s after civil wars an amnesty must follow, so should y of that age be contemplated in such a spirit of If we may not deny the great qualities of Gustavus who ravaged half Germany on account of its reli- victions, and who even adopted measures towards n co-religionists, that can only be referred to the e sword; so also should the emperor Ferdinand the judged, whose very enemies never questioned his g heroic courage, nor ever doubted that he acted

sincerely and from firm conviction. Only those, li
lieu, whose motives were visibly avarice and base v
not conviction and enthusiasm for their cause, s
judgment of posterity and history unsparingly conde

Great as was the number of generals and state
took part, and acquired a name in this protracte
thirty years, there were yet but four men whose
character determined events in it, and exerted a po
individual influence upon their course, and upon th
the times. Ferdinand the Second, Wallenstein,
Adolphus, and Richelieu, these four men, of mos
minds and creeds, gave each a different object,
direction to the war. All the other heroes of the th
war were either the instruments and assistants of
such who at the end of it, when events were in t
fully developed, and now took their own course,
results of these events to account. We need but r
false covering that has been thrown around the ch
Ferdinand the Second, and his severe strength of s
once show itself in its true light. As for Austria
niably saved the state : and for his brethren in fait
for his constancy would certainly have been crushe
what under such circumstances it was still possib
equality of rights,—maintenance of a legal position
sense of duty alone, and firm conviction animated
an heroic courage, which never forsook him in th
struggle, to which he believed himself called,—t
felt himself called, can never be doubted by any,
from facts. That he honoured justice, he often pro
very heat of that bitter contest. The gentle fe
which, with all his austerity of manners, he was s
especially the fidelity and tender love he bore to his
show that, although living in an age of hatred and
was himself of a loving disposition. A heroism li
neither be acquired from nor inspired by others. Th
that he was too much under the influence of the Jes
more singular, since at a period, when ecclesiastica
gious matters were so closely connected with the st
siastical advisers, even as was the case among P
were indispensable to princes. Among the eccle
unsparingly condemned, who possessed great in

der Ferdinand, there were, we must remember, a
rdinal Dietrichstein, who, as governor of Moravia,
knowledged benefactor of the land, and a Cardinal
who in the history of the civilization of Hungary,
be forgotten.

tein's singular character is perhaps best explained
trological phrensy. Hence his boundless pride,
pt for other men, as beings of an inferior stamp.
lay not so much in the suspicious schemes of his
, which occasioned his downfal, as in his ambition,
ight so much misfortune on Germany, and greatly
l to extend the theatre of hostilities. By the
betrayed of acquiring a principality for himself on
he drew the king of Sweden into Germany, who
y irritated against the emperor for having ren-
stance to his brother-in-law, Sigismund. This
rting on itself,—this astrological mania, together
internal glow of passions, may have unsettled
n's powerful understanding, and so justify the
n of those, who refer some of his latter proceedings
son, than to this mental disturbance. What places
e rank of the first men of his age, though others
or even excelled him, in the art of war, was not
vn inventive mind, but the power he exerted over
of others. What would have become of Germany
ngular astrological hero accomplished his plans,—
ually triumphed? This at least is certain, if Aus-
een animated by an ambitious and selfish policy,
e right moment had consented to a partition with
nothing could have been easier than with this
on of strength to have kept off French influence
many, and to have driven back that power within
rontiers. The booty, too, would have been large
carve a kingdom out of it for Wallenstein. But
policy Austria and Sweden were much too sincere
nvictions.

Wallenstein was dreaming of a principality upon
; when Gustavus Adolphus, shortly afterwards,
running a great part of Germany, with as much
success; when Augsburg was doing homage to the
king; at such a moment a total revolution was ex-

pected, and in Italy at least men were reminded of
of the great northern migrations, and invading exp
the ancient Goths. After the conquest of German
and Hungary, even an invasion of Spain by the
Swedes appeared by no means impossible. The c
Gustavus Adolphus was as simple, although in
way, as that of Ferdinand. Together with the p
sagacity which distinguished several of the her
party, he had inherited likewise from his ancesto
Vasa the art of winning by brilliant feats the e
love of his people. A power like his over the
feelings of the people had never been exercised by
party since the time of Luther. The confidence, t
felt in himself, inspired others likewise with a like
faith. We need scarcely add, that in him ambitio
of conquest were combined and interwoven wit
viction of fighting for the righteous cause.

After the deaths of Gustavus, Wallenstein, and
all the grandeur of the war had gone. Richelieu
had merely a destructive end in view, still remain
the course of those desolating flames, which h
unceasingly to feed. To prosecute the old Fren
against Germany and Spain, only with more c
consequently with more certain success, and at hor
out completely the principles of Lewis the Ele
with more violence and decision; despotism w
chy without, in all neighbouring states, for t
French aggrandizement; — such was the spirit
lieu's administration. Gustavus and Ferdinand
all sincerity for the sake of religion; Wallenstein,
powerful understanding, clung to astrological
whereas Richelieu's system of injustice and immor
look at the means he employed, whereof none
him too terrible and too vile; his deliberate abu
tempt, his violation of everything sacred and goo
be regarded as a real political Atheism.

The treaty of Westphalia at last put an end t
ries of a protracted war in Germany. Hopes had
entertained of such a pacification; attempts at o
undertaken at various times and in various w
attempts had failed, had nevertheless been agai

, and were at last brought to a successful consum-
At the commencement of this war, no one could
een its long duration ; it was, indeed, not so much
ar as a continuous series of several different wars
with each other ; namely, the war of the Palati-
Danish and Swedish wars, to which was finally
French war. When the Elector Palatine was ex-
n Bohemia, was driven even from his own princi-
d declared to be under the ban of the empire, the
ared concluded. This, however, was only a delu-
lance. Without Spanish auxiliaries, Ferdinand had
ble to terminate the war, and this interference of one
ower led to that of another. The Protestant powers
mon cause, and it was merely owing to accidental
nces, that Denmark instead of Sweden appeared
belligerent. The German, and especially the Pro-
inces themselves, could best have prevented this
s intervention of foreign powers, whereby the war
ered so calamitous for Germany. If several of them,
ony, and this latter with more decisive energy, had
ound the emperor, making common cause with him
he Palatine, whose enterprise they by no means
, they could, on the other hand, have excluded all
owers from exerting any influence in the empire. Far
eby abandoning the cause of their co-religionists, they
ather, as confederates, have had better means of
the rights of their party. To repel foreign influence,
se all disputes solely by national exertions, must be
ary law of every federal state that is to endure.
his second war, likewise, Ferdinand gained most
success, Sweden entered upon the scene, and the war
ost perilous and fearful. It was the heaviest blow
ichelieu dealt upon the Imperialists, when at his
n the Catholic princes, and especially the elector of
induced Ferdinand, in compliance with the general
t, to supersede Wallenstein. The complaints may
lves have been just ; but the question was, whether
ein's exactions and his mode of carrying on the war
founded upon necessity, and upon the actual state of
nces. It would have been infinitely better for Ger-
yet a brief period to endure these exactions, than for

eighteen years together, out of her own resources, t
and to arm against herself the desolating armies of
It was thus, from his own allies and instruments, th
nand, in the midst of the most brilliant successes, v
doomed to encounter the greatest embarrassment.
not be easy to find another prince who, with suc
resources, surrounded by enemies and perils of ev
encountering often fresh and grievous obstacles fr
who combated with him and for him, and whom he
but employ as instruments, yet with unwavering co
serene energy ever strove after the attainment of h
What great sacrifices did he not willingly make in
retain Bavaria in his alliance, and Saxony in neutrali
much regard was he not compelled to have for the in
Spain! How much injury had he not to sustain
Wallenstein, and still more through the chiefs of the
league, who, suspecting no guile, were too accessib
suggestions of France! What Ferdinand effected fo
benefit and that of his generals, although he has be
censured for it, is best justified by comparing his
the violent proceedings and exactions of the Swedes v
were victorious. His demanding the restoration o
property undoubtedly much contributed to precipitat
break, that the policy of France and the ambition of
had already long prepared. We cannot, however,
the conduct of Ferdinand as in itself unjust, in se
adhere to a treaty as the ultimate standard of legal p
in appealing to a treaty which had been wrung
ancestors by the Protestant party at the very m
their success. Charles the Fifth, who well knew t
and the actual state of affairs, showed himself more c
even in the moment of victory with regard to the
lands; and perhaps it had been better if Ferdin
yielded at once what he was subsequently obliged t
to. It is satisfactorily proved, however, that not th
selfishness of a conqueror, but sentiments of a very
order, were the motives that animated Ferdinand's
on that occasion. Wallenstein, who had syste
effected, on a large scale, what the Count of Mans
Christian of Halberstadt had accomplished on a sma
and who had therein exhibited the indispensable

uccess in a contest of this nature, was necessarily
great rewards. That these served not as rewards,
to his unbounded ambition, was his own fault.
s death, and still more after that of the emperor
the war became such as it had been in the outset.
adventurers and leaders, spreading havoc hither
with the speed of lightning, rather exhibited the
me desolating natural phenomenon, of a fire that
dled rages uncontrollably around, than any great
lea of one great man. The object of the war was
the war itself; the bitterness of religious hatred
l in the animosity of a religious war. Even in
n's army, and especially in the second part of his
reer, it was not enthusiasm for the one religion or
at was the animating principle of the whole body,
iar military spirit, somewhat indifferent to religious
id quite independent of them.
ce that was at last brought about by necessity,
an epoch in European history. It was a great
cification—it was a recognition that to terminate
dispute between the ancient faith and the new
as an impossibility, and it was a settlement of
ns between the adherents of the one creed and of

* * * * *

commotions and separate wars, which after the
eligion filled the Netherlands, France, and Ger-
bloodshed, and in which Spain, England, Den-
Sweden took part, may be considered on account
participation by almost all nations, and by the
nection and complication of the events themselves,
eral European war. From the first outbreak of
in the Netherlands down to the peace of West-
warfare lasted full eighty years, and during this
licted most countries in Europe, and desolated and
of the most flourishing. If we consider the eighty
between the Catholic and Protestant parties as
ed continuous struggle, it may, looking at it as a
ar surprising, that the Catholic party, with such
periority of power, did not gain the ascendancy, and
mplete victory. With respect to some particular

periods in this eighty years' war, we may rather ask
Protestants having once succeeded in gaining so n
not follow up their success, and become completely vi
Regarding all the Catholic powers as one of the b
parties, the cause of their feeble efficiency in despite of
parent strength, lay not so much in the decay of Span
(for after the nerveless reign of Philip the Third that
revived once more with new lustre and new ener
Philip the Fourth), but rather in the want of unic
the different powers themselves. Between the two
of the Austrian house, concord rarely prevailed; des
frequent family alliances, distrust and alienation in
of Philip the Second had been too long and too
work to be so easily removed. Even when by the
of a great statesman, a co-operation was brought abou
Philip the Fourth's ardent activity and Ferdinand the
great designs, the union still was not so perfect a
to have been; the difference of principles and vi
produced results most adverse to their joint efforts
peculiarly the function of the court of Rome to se
bond of union between the two powers, and
them together in uninterrupted concord. As a
between them, it should have preserved the balance
and have once more claimed, with benefit to the
weal, the office of umpire in the affairs of Europe.

The Roman court undoubtedly at times discha
duty, and served as the common bond of union be
Catholic powers, but it was far from exercising this
with sufficient energy and perseverance. Nothing
more easily than the living spirit of a confedera
half a century of concord and of joint co-operatio
insufficient to supply what was neglected or lost
briefer period of mutual distrust or selfish isolation

If the Roman court, as is generally acknowle
often not considerate enough towards the Austrian
and seemed to require of them what the state of
Germany rendered utterly impossible for them to g
accomplish, yet it is infinitely more to be censured
to recognise the true seat of the evil, for being almo
too forbearing towards France. For the peculiar
of the Catholic power in Europe originated in the

onged in name only to the Catholic party (and even so), while in fact, from her thoroughly n of policy, she formed a separate party of her Rome it should have been understood and fore- Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of a victorious party, was less dangerous by far to the church erely political and nominal Catholicism of the s, developed by the energy of a Richelieu. The ver had to fear her greatest foes and corrupters bosom more than all her external enemies.

merely to this internal weakness of the Catholic ay almost wonder that it did not totally succumb le, that the Protestants did not gain a complete nt in England and in Holland the political and nciples and objects of the various political and ties thwarted each other far too much to render nat even in England the Catholic party should be ed; or still less, as in Sweden, for the national urned towards schemes of conquest. And the ituation and small extent of Holland would der such projects alien to the national feeling. stinate, unconquerable resistance, and an inde- on by the sword, was all that the Protestants or accomplish. Germany was the only country e victory could be complete, in which Pro- ould become a conquering power; and un- it had once been victorious here, it might have s ascendancy over the whole of Europe. In ne had the new faith been diffused by a real ement, whose power was not wholly extinct, ne first violent outbreak, till the period of the stphalia. In a country like Germany, so great, l then so warlike, this popular energy, which lculation, stood more than once at the entire dis- ady too for the most daring enterprises—of any nce of the party who was competent to turn it But a prince of this kind, a great hero (if we us Adolphus alone, who was so early snatched ant career), there was none, otherwise Germany tedly have become wholly Protestant, and in the uld have found one sole sovereign; and after the

confiscation of the ecclesiastical principalities wou
become, with its then population, once more, as in th
age, the first country of Europe, and even probabl
quering power. The king of Sweden, as sovereign
many, must necessarily have treated this country,
Sweden, as the chief country of his empire, altho
circumstance of his being a foreigner would have be
rious to him in public opinion, had he lived longer,
he continued to conquer. Maurice of Saxony was
German prince, before Gustavus Adolphus, who co
executed such great schemes; he, however, from th
city early manifested in his character, would nev
acquired equal power over the minds of the people,
death as early as that of the Swedish hero had not
him.

On attentively considering the most important e
history, we shall readily perceive that very few, inde
really turned out to be what they were originally de

The greatest projects of kings and heroes, amid
consummate outward success, have, nevertheless, b
siderably modified by the action of accidental circun
and more only carried out incompletely. The greate
ments of an age and of a nation have, for the mo
had a very different issue from what they at first
destined to have, and have often diverged far f
term towards which they were more immediately
Hence it is no idle speculation in history to inqui
under certain circumstances, might have occurred; to
on what slight circumstances it often turned, that
was not totally different from what it actually wa
can often best throw light on the events of history,
true course and spirit, by transporting ourselves
midst of these events, before they were finally decid
to be able to form a competent judgment on thes
contemplate a different possible issue, with all the
might have entailed. What would have been th
quence, what form would Europe have assumed
Catholic powers had completely triumphed in that
test; if in France the party of the Guises and the
influence had prevailed, and with their aid the Catho
in England had gained the upper hand; if in Sw

asty, like some of its members, had returned to the th; and in Germany, that faith had become, at redominant one? The answer to this question is ortant, even for the accuracy of many views and egarding the constitution of the various states of l the civilization of mankind. Spain and Austria, ie first victories of the Emperor Ferdinand the emed to be universally feared, would then have cided ascendancy over all Europe. This ascend- ever, from the very partition between two, would been injurious to freedom, still less could it have out the much-dreaded universal monarchy. This more the case, as the Roman court, the natural independent point of union between the two, rged by every motive to uphold the balance of to preserve freedom. To freedom of thought, to ment of mind, the consequences could scarcely have rious as one might anticipate at the first glance. ion to this liberty was indeed merely introduced of that moral ferment which followed on the nism; with victory, coercion would of itself have nd with the re-establishment of religious unity, ewise, and the harmonious development of the powers, such as before the Reformation had ad- steady, unbroken energy, have not failed to ne important difference alone would have oc- modern European civilization, wherein the Pro- it has obtained the ascendancy, proceeded more -sided development of the understanding, which tism has always maintained a decided preponde- n the event supposed, intellectual culture would been directed by the imagination, as occurred in taly. Subsequently, when coercion was dropped, ctivity and harmony of all the mental faculties been restored.

whether Europe in such a case would have been rcely belongs to the province of history. Not ent intellectual culture, but even a different his- the last century and a half have had to show. ifest, that the mightiest movements of that period n those principles and in that bent of public

opinion, which sprang, and necessarily would spr
the partial cultivation of the understanding, that
vailed.

On the other hand, if all Germany had become P
had fallen under the sway of a single conqueror and
and been once more rendered a thoroughly warlike
conquering nation, what would have been the cons
Brilliant perhaps for the political power, and the
ment of the national energies, but scarcely so fav
first to intellectual freedom as we are apt to supp
have already stated, that with respect to the unc
definitions of faith, the older Lutherans were not
than the ancient church. In that church, indeed, the
of faith is the simpler of the two; it contains simpl
and the fact, which all Christian parties acknowled
basis of Christianity, together with a few negative
directed against new doctrines of dissent. In othe
free scope was left to philosophy, as the history of
prior to the religious schism sufficiently proves. B
the older Lutherans the rule of faith in their
books was spun out into a very detailed system, a
intellect was much more fettered. Even if the
church had been victorious, freedom could have
developed when the coercion (which in reality wa
sides occasioned chiefly by the contest itself, and wa
only to a state of contest) should cease; when vi
achieved and the struggle terminated. Very differ
ever, would have been the course of European ci
had Protestantism triumphed throughout Germ
thence (as would probably have been the case) thr
great part of Europe; very different, we say, would
civilization have been from what it was when the
power between the two parties was formally establi
those effects, which in the history of modern times
bute to the exclusive sway of the understanding
internal cause, would then have been far more ra
universally developed. It is very probable that int
flicts and wars would have broken out among the P
themselves. Besides a John of Leyden, Germany
would then have also beheld a Cromwell, and othe
and fearful phenomena. From the exclusive swa

ding to fanaticism is a transition far from difficult; ver that has been repressed seeks to revenge itself break of redoubled force.

many, with the first outbreak of the religious schism, was let loose; it was not indeed publicly visible, nor rt much influence in politics; but in secret its power ly diffused. Opinions, such as those which a sin- extraordinary man like Wallenstein embraced, were re diffused, and not without well-connected reciprocal Perhaps even Wallenstein's rapid rise—a part of rdinary resources, may be explained by such secret ns. If all his plans could have been realized, a very tate of public life and of opinion, and one equally from the new doctrines and the ancient church, loubtedly have arisen and become predominant.

of these extreme cases, however, were destined to ither the ancient church nor the new doctrines were complete victory. On the contrary, the chief result nty, which at last terminated the protracted contest, claim the award of history, that that struggle could nposed or decided by force. Had the ancient church in the contest, the victory, because it had been through a contest, would yet have seemed merely of force. Had the Protestant doctrines prevailed, culable how much of the ancient civilization and the nstitution, which in later and more tranquil times ppreciated and turned to account, would have irre- erished with the ancient church. So far the then tate of division must be acknowledged and consi- both parties as a benefit, or at least as the less of

The schism, moreover, has in some cases perhaps rough the contest it excited, mutually to sharpen te the intellectual energies. Generally, however, has been, that the destructive spirit of contentious- a slow poison, has continued to prey on all around at the long struggle has terminated in the exhaustion al disorganization of parties. By the spirit of ne civilization is never advanced, but by the spirit of by the harmonious exertion and development of all ies.

hen, were the political consequences of the Re-

formation. After a state of doubt and hesitation, be
new doctrines were fully understood—a state th
fifty years, and included the first isolated wars in
and Switzerland—there ensued a general religiou
eighty years' duration. When, at last, by a treaty
the impossiblility of any decision by force of arms
cognised, once for all there gradually ensued, thr
fixed establishment of the schism, an internal disorg
of all the principles and maxims by which life i
moulded, and regulated. Under the delusive show
ration and peace, moreover, this great internal chan
brought about violent commotions and revolutions,
mighty and stormy than those of old; it was dem
more clearly than ever, that mind, that ideas, are th
powers of history.

As a European treaty of religious peace (and such
least in its general spirit and in its remoter effects,
isolated facts at a later period, especially in England, n
the earlier epoch of bitter religious wars), as a gre
pean religious pacification, the treaty of Westphali
least the termination of a great and protracted evil
spect to Germany, its results, like those of the prece
were altogether pernicious. The influence of foreig
became now fully recognised, and admitted as constitu
that even in times of peace, the manifest germs of furt
bles, and encroachments, and ulterior wars (all of w
tually ensued), and even of a total political disorganiz
dissolution, were plainly perceptible. It was only t
or the shortness of the term, and the diversity of
wherein this dissolution should take place, that coul
a subject of doubt. From this period, moreover, the
the middle class in Germany has gradually declin
free towns of the empire, it is true, remained as a m
of ancient freedom, and in several districts the towns
ent upon the princes still participated in some degre
liamentary rights. This, however, as the military
been totally changed, and the power of the princes w
on the increase, was a mere outward semblance, rath
genuine effective power, such as the towns pos
southern and Rhenish Germany before the religiou
when they were able to cope in war even with th

, or at the prosperous period of the Hanseate League
thirty years' war. It was this war which ruined
t prosperity and great wealth of Germany. Ger-
s true, had already suffered by the discovery of the
l, whose superabundance in gold and silver cast com-
to the shade our old national mines of the precious
The old course, too, of the Eastern trade, first
taly, and then through Germany, was more favour-
e latter. This loss, however, had not been fatal to
erity, and even up to the thirty years' war, Ger-
though without the gorgeous riches of Spain and
yet perhaps surpassed in real prosperity and vital
vealth all those countries, which, through the dis-
the new world, had risen to sudden fortune. The
German prosperity, like that of a large portion of
s wealth in the eighteenth century, lay in manu-
for in all branches of the same, by the quantity of
n, and in some even by the quality, Germany at that
ke England in modern times, surpassed all other
of Europe. All this prosperity was destroyed by
years' war; countless numbers of artisans emigrated
ed the military life, or became impoverished and
In every detailed history of that war we meet with
g instances of individual towns, where before the
number of craftsmen in trade were reckoned by
s, and after it but a few individuals were still to be
England, Holland, and Denmark systematically took
e of Germany's unhappy situation to augment their own
e. The diminution in her population completed the
Germany, and served to perpetuate them. It would
tructive inquiry to examine what proportion of her
n Germany lost by this war, whether it was one-half,
s even two-thirds; for, in the history of the world,
vars are comparable to this for its devastating effects.
ly the number, but the spirit also, of the surviving
n was changed, and indeed permanently so, by the
Westphalia. At all times the Germans have been a
ation, for a long time also divided; when united,
e ever been the first in Europe. Even in those ages
de and manufactures occupied a large portion of the
ot only the nobles, but the cities also, were always

animated by a martial spirit and by martial courage. part of the German empire, the whole mass of pe were now forced to a state of perpetual peace; for of the greater princes were still powerful enough to any considerable military operations, which even to matters of difficulty, from the artificial complicatio political relations, and to the wisest could but seld expedient in the new order of things. Good and this state of things might be perhaps termed, in internal tranquillity; but, from the slender extern which that peace in other respects promised, it wa else than leaving Germany for future times defen unarmed to her inevitable destinies.

When peace was at last concluded in Germany, of war, which had been there enkindled, still raged less, for a considerable time, at the opposite ext Europe. The contest between France and Spa lasted ten years longer, was a mere continuati general war. In the north, the ambition of Swed been once aroused, now appeared, under Charles G restless and daring monarch, to menace all nei states more than under Gustavus Adolphus hims Charles Gustavus succeeded in completing the c Denmark, he might have founded a kingdom that w long been the first northern state. His conquests, like Charles the Twelfth's in subsequent times, w brilliant and fearful, like a passing meteor, than for permanent duration. It was proved by the Sweden, that in Europe at least, and with the ex very rare cases, a conqueror is restrained by ge limits. Hence the slow but vigorous growth o power, under the sway of the house of Romanof, w parably more solid than that of Sweden in its mo epoch. By the treaty of the Pyrenees, which ten that of Westphalia terminated the contest betwe and Spain, the ascendancy of the former, and the d latter, which till then may have seemed doubtful, w exhibited. The germs of this decay, indeed, were under Philip the Second, by his unbending severi his overstraining all the national energies, but, by his violent seizure of Portugal, and the puttin the popular liberties in Spain itself, a suppression

n the animosity of religious strife. Neither Philip
nor his successors, it is true, attacked the Spanish
n in any of its fundamental points, or sought to
it; but yet when the Spanish kings began to live
the seclusion of their palaces, after the fashion of
n sultans, it could not fail to exercise a deep influ-
the whole life and spirit of the state and the
tion. But what, perhaps, more than anything else
l towards the decline of Spain, was failing to give
nd stimulus to the national energies by a periodical
n of the general Cortes. Under Philip the Second,
s, the power of the state, and eminently so that of
itself, was still very great, and many errors might
mmitted ere that greatness could utterly perish.
capable Philip the Second was to keep the state
ith a vigorous hand, and even to govern it, was
d under the reigns of his successors. Philip the
bred up with the most anxious solicitude to pre-
m the premature growth of that ambition which,
e of the unfortunate Don Carlos, had burst out
passionate violence, for men are in general apt
hey can best compensate for an error by going
osite extreme. Hence Philip the Third, with
qualities, was unable to restrain the great officers
is chief representatives and governors, from abus-
power. This absence of political discipline pro-
y injurious effects in the state, and even in
some Spanish grandees (as in the well-known
of the marquis of Bedmar at Venice), by
e of power, inflicted incredible and incalculable
public opinion, upon Spanish glory and Spanish
Hence arose violent reactions, the by no means
t hostility of Venice; and hence was Richelieu
strike the first great blow at Spanish might in
ne expulsion of the Moriscoes in the reign of
Third, as well as the revolution in Portugal under
Fourth, must perhaps be ascribed, as the inevi-
quence of his errors, to the first violent measures
he Second, which were no longer to be remedied.
lip the Fourth, moreover, the Spanish monarchy
espects revived once more with new splendour;
e only error now committed was in seeking to

accomplish too much at once, in reviving all cor
had been once set on foot. The effects, too, of ma
political errors now for the first time became
Hence Spain could no longer cope with her ene
minority that ensued on the death of Philip th
brought about a new state of decline, that in th
Charles the Second made much further progress.
death, the war of succession proved ruinous to S
under the French dynasty the old Spanish glory a
influence in Europe disappeared.

Thus was accomplished the desire of Richelieu
Germany to a permanent state of feebleness, and
mine the power of Spain. In this respect the
vigorously prepared for Lewis the Fourteenth.
not, however, to dim his glory; for every brillia
history has had the way thus prepared for it, and
long existed in germ ere in its outward developm
the world with the amazing lustre of its glory.
the way paved for Charlemagne also, and for
Fifth. Like Charles the Fifth, Lewis the Four
also surrounded by many great men both in war a
in science and literature. This is no drawback o
of Lewis the Fourteenth; for it is precisely this
encompassing himself with great men, of appreci
and genius, employing them, and rallying them a
that is the primary and most essential quality in
reign of a great monarchy. This it is that has
fame of Lewis so great. The French monarch po
the art, which in so high a degree characterized
Second, of imparting to all that surrounded him,
he did, the stamp of dignity. Nevertheless,
paring Lewis with Charles the Fifth, we find o
difference between them. Of Charles, for examp
not be easy to prove, that besides the great me
petent and worthy individuals enjoyed such in
him, as was often the case with Lewis, especially
years of his reign, when great talents both in the
the cabinet were replaced by mediocrities.

If the brilliant epoch of France under Lewis the
after domestic tranquillity was at last re-establish
chiefly ascribed to the internal energies of the n

fact common to all the great and shining periods of
f we inquire into the use he made of these noble
nto the objects and plans he chiefly had in view; if
ther they were great and glorious in their design, and
in execution, the answer that is given by history
estions would be less favourable to Lewis than his
nong his countrymen are wont to represent. He
nquering Holland, and by that very course called
the power of England, which had hitherto been
ndent on his policy. King William, with insigni-
r, surrounded even in Holland by obstacles and
s, and by no means one of the first generals of his
ceeded merely by calm courage and never-failing
wherein he equalled his ancestor, William of
maintaining the independence, freedom, and power
in restoring England to the rank of the most
d energetic states, and in giving a new form to
his is one of the noblest examples that history pre-
at sagacity and steadfast constancy can effect even
at superiority of force.

ewis aimed at the total destruction of Austria by
e Turkish power; but so far was this plan from
that it was precisely the unsuccessful invasion of
which roused anew the military spirit of Austria
state of apathy that had followed upon the thirty
and which brought about such a total change in
things in the East; that after the complete libe-
lungary, and even before Prince Eugene became
-in-chief, the reconquest of the Hungarian de-
was likewise meditated.

at last succeeded in maintaining his family upon
throne, yet it is well known that he was indebted
nce for this success, and to the errors of his oppo-
one of those sudden changes which are natural to
constitution, and are the cause why England, after
ars, has rarely succeeded in making advantageous
eace. Lewis's other schemes of aggrandizement
y successful towards the frontiers of the German
ich was now reduced to a state of constitutional
These wars were carried on in a manner, which
anegyrists are scarcely able altogether to justify.

Not merely were these wars unjust in themselves
cupidity of this kind is more looked for and is soon
on the part of smaller states, or at least states of
magnitude. In large states, on the other hand, eve
their policy to be wholly self-interested, yet the sh
of magnanimity and dignity is in the long run in
and is often more important even for their real
any petty increase of territory.

It has been often remarked that Lewis the
perpetual wars exhausted the resources of Franc
hence the state of weakness into which, after his de
once more in peril of sinking, is not to be wholly
his successors; but that the chief source of the
sought for in his unbounded ambition. He, perha
the deepest and deadliest wounds on France, how
persecution of the Protestants, and in general by
interference in ecclesiastical and religious concerns
called forth a moral ferment and an intellectual op
strong, as in after-times to convulse France to her
This untimely persecuting spirit it was that provol
break of that violent and passionate opposition wh
distinguished the French literature and philoso
eighteenth century, and rendered it a great an
political power. As early as the seventeenth cen
tellectual opposition had found in Holland, and to
in Switzerland, a safe asylum and a fixed point o
The influence that from this quarter was exerted
by Voltaire's predecessor and chief authority, Bay
but one out of many writers), was, perhaps, in its
important than anything that generals and armie
accomplished.

In French literature, which, in the age of Lew
teenth, attained its greatest splendour, and
that period with its most lasting glory, it is curio
political point of view, to observe how very st
Spanish taste and a Spanish tone and colouring
productions of the early French writers under Car
lieu. This is a proof how deep and mighty an in
had exerted in France and even over the French n
lieu's immediate object in creating a French li
indisputably to divert attention from the op pres

ebellious glances at unjust despotism. He next ake the court and throne the centre of all the in- ergies of the nation, and thus to insure its rule ind and opinion.

asic excellence of French literature in the time of Fourteenth with respect to France herself, and in utes the foundation and the true standard of na- ation, namely, the culture of the national language, ed by comparing on the one hand the perfection of best writers in Lewis the Fourteenth's time, with nfused, partly uncouth diction of earlier authors; ther hand, by considering how little the most dis- lents of the subsequent age have succeeded in sur- perfection of language once attained. In respect aste, the same principles, on the whole, prevailed literature, which in Italy likewise ever gained ter times; in all departments of art and literary the imitation of the ancients was recognised as the xcellence; an imitation that was neither quite in h the spirit and manners of modern Europe, nor panied with an accurate knowledge of antiquity. t French taste took a direction very different from, ien to, Italian art. In Italy, since the religious osophy had been excluded, or at least been un- d powerless; and thereby the whole intellectual art and literature of Italy and Spain, was rather f the imagination than of the understanding. As seventeenth century, this one-sided dominion of ion betrayed in many phenomena, in every de- art and literature, the injurious effects of this mony of mind. The consciousness of this error reaction in French literature and art, wherein only is censurable, that not only the abuses of ion were corrected, but its very spirit was wholly destroyed. These reflections, however, belong y to literature; but in a political and historical w, it is more important to observe, that in the ture, as well as in the Gallican church, the sepa- ilosophy and religion, to the great detriment of nore and more recognised and laid down as a Hence the cause of the ancient faith, which at

the same time was that of the ancient political c
was left defenceless on the most assailable side,
doned beforehand to the attacks of an oppositio
more passionate and dangerous every day. The
rogeneous the elements of this opposition, which
by the Calvinists, nourished by the Jansenistical
sies, and fully developed by the philosophical
which was begotten in France, fostered in Holland
thence reacted upon France and the rest of Eu
more heterogeneous the elements of this oppositi
the more power did it possess to effect an entire di
all ancient principles and opinions.

LECTURES XIX., XX., & XX

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EIGHTEENTH CENT

With joyous and exalting feelings, and often
gled sense of melancholy and tenderness, do we p
the picture of the olden times, when, under a h
austerer exterior, the energies of the heart had
livelier and purer action, and when faith in the
bellished a narrower sphere of existence. Ver
graver, and sterner is the feeling with which we
history of the last centuries, through all their ra
down to the events of our own times. As when gl
suddenly darken a serene sky, or as when at the
calm that precedes the storm, our breasts are
anxious expectation, when we see how the old bon
waxing loose, and that under the delusive appe
new civilization, and freedom of toleration and lov
something fearful is gathering beneath—that all e
invisible concatenation, are hurrying on towards
perilous, inevitable catastrophe, that sweeps everyt
it in its irresistible career. If individual great m
deeds fill us with a sentiment of admiration,—
doom, that was overhanging the human race, fi
astonishment and awe; yet this feeling serves mor
our courage for an arduous contest, to inspire a str

luty and mighty destinies of an eventful age, than
ure untroubled joy.

ages of the thirty years' war are dreadful to con-
but yet more mournful and painful to the feelings
g state of impotence, humiliation, and feebleness,
ceeded that desolating conflict. Germany, it is
gradually restored to new prosperity; Austria,
fulness of her inexhaustible resources, once more
er ancient dignity. A new sun of happiness rose
pe, when Austria shone forth in the splendour of
ory, and when England suddenly reached the high
power which she still maintains. These two
ited as the centre of a great confederacy of states,
last to promise Europe, after so many storms, a
reign, if not of strict justice, yet of mutual com-
d conciliation, an altogether mild policy, based on
and principles of equity. But only too soon,
ief enjoyment of this delusive period of outward
and apparent love of peace, did the prognostics
les appear of that universal convulsion, in which
has been swallowed up.

e of weakness into which Austria as well as Germany
the thirty years' war, was such that the emperor
the Third, who, among many other distinguished
had also given proof of military genius by his
the important battle of Nördlingen, when he was
e Romans, had scarcely an opportunity of exercising
the virtues which were expected of him, except
atience. By this quality, as well as by the inde-
forts of Count Trauttmansdorff, the peace for which
l and crushed nations had so ardently pined, and
been so much impeded and frustrated by the clashing
interests of diplomacy, was at last concluded. The
of things continued for the first half of the reign
eror Leopold the First, who was at first so inferior
his antagonist, Lewis the Fourteenth, but at the
life so unexpectedly victorious. To the best and
rable sentiments, and to most varied knowledge of
, this monarch united a constancy, even in extreme
desperate misfortune, which would not have been
of the emperor Ferdinand the Second. Yet the

great and vehement reaction, and the military g
Austria in the latter years of the emperor Leopol
were not owing immediately to him, nor even to
Eugene alone, but to the reviving strength of th
nation, and to the general change of times and circu
How much time and what tedious efforts it required
Austria from its fallen condition after the all-devastat
and the still unhappier peace, is best illustrated
method and tactics adopted by Montecuccoli.* Th
who by his scientific investigations and discoveries
an epoch in the art of war, acquired his reputatio
by that heedful delay and procrastination so ex
suited to his weak and scanty resources. A capt
tinguished for bold, rapid movements, bent upon a
great things, would have been quite out of place in
grade of reviving Austrian power.

In order to judge quite correctly of the history and
stances of the times of the emperor Leopold the F
latter half of the seventeenth century, we must weigh
effect of the treaty of Westphalia upon the internal c
of all German states. It exercised a visible influen
the peculiar character by which German state funct
have been distinguished since that epoch. The very
spirit which in different times and circumstances
such functionaries as a class apart, is altogether on
most important objects of historical observation. It
general be laid down as an almost inevitable occurre
in proportion as states grow older, so does the number
tionaries increase. Not always, not necessarily, d
spirit of this class become so exclusive as to separa
and its interests from those of the state, a spirit ru
the public weal. It undoubtedly often happens, h
that the general degeneracy is more immediately an
ingly manifested in this most essential element of th
politic, so that at last the state seems to exist only
benefit of the state functionaries. But this generally
in different states in very different ways. In Fra
spirit of absolute power naturally passed from the c
omnipotence to the mass of the functionaries. Only
point is the apparently uncontrolled authority of a
lute monarchy generally limited,—in money matters,

* Often written Montecuculi.

ce. This was especially the case in France. In country in Europe, since the time of Lewis the h, was the number and influence of officials in the department so great and this absolute spirit so pre- in the great bulk of the people. In England, reedom and the old contest between the republican ist parties, the Whigs and Tories, unfolded remark- ers and a lofty ambition among the higher class of out withal a passionate party spirit, which often great talents to pernicious or unworthy measures. cter of the German state functionaries was moulded reaty of Westphalia. At an earlier period the f Roman law with the different German codes had ed affairs. But in no treaty of peace whatever contentious points of public law so strictly defined even the minutest, formalities, as in that of West- This system of legal formalities became now the the entire German constitution, as well as of the on of each individual country, and thus determined of all officials. But not in this alone, not in the what was strictly business of the state, but also in urrences of peace and war, in the whole course of is stamp and character of a cumbrous, slow, legal was apparent.

stem thus adopted in all affairs of state and this he functionaries had also its influence on the peculiar of the German nobility, though less on that of Aus- t new form of nobility, which arose on the cessation v ; that form in which the nobility were considered e support and foundation of the throne, as an indis- nk to connect the people with the king, and in which t and strictest self-devotion in the service of the regarded as their noblest calling, first attained its velopment and highest brilliancy in Spain, and then . In Spain this spirit retained its vital energy nobles long after all energy was extinguished on itself, yet the torpor of despotism spread more and that centre to all classes of society. In France, y after the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, immo- the tone at court. Lewis himself, in despite of his ecorum, had publicly betrayed many personal weak-

nesses and propensities, which were unbecoming to the of the crown. This immorality was not without influence on a portion of the nobility, as, with the severity of morals, principles also were relaxed. In a peculiar constitution, and still more the commerce world, introduced a wholly new and a powerful influe of money and wealth, among all classes, and even an nobility. Such influence either did not subsist at all many, or subsisted in a minor, far more insignifican When, by the provisions of the treaty of Westphal many was permanently divided into many petty princ the national spirit which, in a large monarchy, ever the nobility with a generous love of fame, was destroy most of the smaller states aimed at copying the interna ization of the entire empire in all its formalities, the arose in the place of a truly royal nobility, animate high national feeling, and seeking its mission in a self-devotion to the king, a mere court and official fitted for outward pomp alone, and in that only distin Yet, in Austria and Hungary, the martial spirit w extinguished, even in the state of weakness to wh were reduced by the thirty years' war. It was not th of an individual, but the united energies of the nat effected the great change in the aspect of affairs tow end of the seventeenth century, and brought about epoch in which, under Montecuculi, the two Starhemb the great Eugene, renovated Austria shone forth m riously than ever. And how many other names are scribed with these in the annals of that glorious perio the examples of martial spirit and patriotic pride ever f by the Spanish or French nobility in the most flourish of those monarchies were equalled or surpassed in Au Hungary in the period from the liberation of Vie Hungary from the formidable power of the Turks that, when Maria Theresa was indebted for the pre of her empire to her own constancy and to the and enthusiastic sense of honour and loyalty of he people.

Even before the siege of Vienna by the Turks, the resources of Austria were slowly indeed, but thereby solidly, re-established by Montecuculi. It was precisel

oduced by a formidable attack, and a great and immi-
ger, that fully aroused her slumbering strength. The
n of Hungary was the glorious result of the failure of
ish attack upon the imperial city. Austria was thus
to the rank of a power of the first magnitude, and
the foundation-stone laid for European freedom in the
th century, and a firm point of support acquired for
and moral balance of power among the different states.
rnal cause of the great changes in the eastern states
ons of Europe at the end of the seventeenth and in the
f the eighteenth century lay in the decline of the
powers. Before that period the downfall of the
dominion had laid the foundation of Russian great-
ther were the internal convulsions in Persia without
on eastern Europe. But the chief effect was pro-
the decline of the Turkish empire, which, at the end
eventeenth century, had become evident. Singularly
state was composed of so many subjugated nations
nerous than the ruling one, it could only attain perfect
and unity by changing its policy and constitution.
n, from its geographical situation, it could do so only
itime power, and by holding the command of the
anean. Hence, to preserve permanent and healthy
n a power of such a composite nature, and in part re-
n a basis so artificial, a mental culture, a stringent
constitution, and a vigorous activity would be needed,
the national character, and still more, the creed of
n, were but little adapted. Hence the Turkish em-
easingly declined, despite the martial courage of the
hat remained unchanged; and more than once that
ed its preservation to the disunion or the clashing in-
f the allied powers of Europe.

things chiefly determined the character and the career
pean states and nations in the last centuries. In the
countries it was commerce, that stamped its impress,
ted an overruling influence on all things. It had the
the course of time of severing more and more from the
Europe those countries which were connected with
or with India, such as Spain and England. This
ther from a less active participation in European
and events, as was earlier the case with Portugal,

and in the eighteenth century with Spain also; or as
land and England, by reason of the growing influence
colonial possessions, relations, and interests over the con
course of European affairs. In the central countries of
on the other hand, in France and Germany, the devel
the changes and revolutions of public opinion, from the
ation down to the revolution, have chiefly determi
directed the history of these states and the destinies
people. England, indeed, took part in these moveme
so did France in commerce; but in England what has
allayed the contests of public opinion, what restored
and tranquillity to the country amid the contending
of party, but her vast commerce, the first object, need
of the nation? If, on the other hand, France had n
siderable share in commerce, and in Indian and A
acquisitions, yet was that share neither in itself so
that of Spain or England, nor did her commerce and
exercise such marked and decided influence over the
country. Commerce exerted a more slender and
influence in the eastern states and nations. If religi
political troubles and revolutions were not without
those countries, yet were these troubles only the afte
of those revolutions, whose origin and point of issue
the central countries, such as Germany and France.
gards the progress of civilization, too, western Europ
more or less as the example and model of the easter
the course of events in Asia has ever remained the n
the greatest importance for these eastern states and
As it was once the sudden growth of Turkish greatn
the advancing conquests of Turkish power which co
these states, destroying them, or developing in the
energies, so now the decline of this very Turkish po
created a new epoch in their history. Independent as
fancies herself; firmly as she believes herself to be, not
the centre, but the sum of all mankind; dominant as E
influence became in Asia and in America in the eig
century, more so, perhaps, than under Alexander's su
or Rome's Cæsars,—yet is Europe, notwithstanding
fettered by this very sovereignty, by this extra-E
power; and the first sources of the changes which occ
are for the most part to be found in the movements a

of those remoter quarters of the world. From the end
venteenth century the share which each of the eastern
ook in the overthrow of Turkish power, the advantages
ch of them derived therefrom, not in outward aggran-
alone, but more especially in internal improvement,
he most decisive influence.

s respect Russia and Hungary take the first place.
too, under her illustrious national king, Sobieski,
loriously in all the feats of the common war, and
beration of Austria, threatened for the last time
kish ascendancy. So was their own fatherland also,
ria was indisputably in this quarter the rampart of
as well as of Germany, and the conquest of the one
evitably have involved the downfall of the other.
ng in this career of victory, Poland, to become and
n great, but needed a lawgiver such as Russia found
the Great. But party-spirit and foreign influence
re obtained the upper hand, and thus Sweden's last
conquest, under Charles the Twelfth, were expended
ying Poland. After the conquest of Poland by
he Twelfth, and the use he made of his victory, the
anarchy were scattered more widely than ever, and
eeper roots than ever in that nation. At the same
eden ruined herself by the unequal struggle, and with
downfall the ascendancy and greatness of Russia
sured. That that ascendancy became permanent
work of Peter the Great. As the victorious Eugene,
orer of Austria and of European freedom, stands
the history of the southern and western states, whose
surveyed with such a piercing glance and so wisely
for he was not less great in true statesmanship than
even so Peter the Great rises up before us, the
nd founder of a new empire, the benefactor of the
The history of that period is rich and full of life,
not one man alone was all in all, but several men of
order simultaneously co-operated from different
to invoke that glorious apparition of modern civil-
ope. In the single admission that he was a despot
um up all that was censurable in Peter. But in a
ere, as in several Sclavonian countries of the north,
ular, despotic aristocracy was the only existing con-

stitution, it may be reasonably asked whether, in
attain internal strength, unity, and an appropriate
constitution, anything else can in the first instance
stituted than a monarchy, which in the outset was ol
be despotic also.

A despotism of this kind, that is adapted and fitti
state of barbarism, has this advantage, that in after-
the subsequent history of Russia proves, it is po
mitigate at least the original severity. This is not
when despotism is not founded on barbarism, but ha
out of anarchy, out of the dissolution of all laws, mo
principles, as with the tyrants of degenerate Rome.
when the despotic power relaxes its grasp, no mitigat
be looked for, but only fresh revolutions and convulsi

Through internal amelioration did the growth of
external aggrandizement first become really produc
lasting, and because this was Peter's first object has
called the Great. It was especially beneficial to Ru
Holland and England were taken as her immediate r
the career of civilization, for all naval affairs, for na
and commerce; that a sudden acquisition of outwa
dour was not aimed at, but that this was best insured
times by the solid foundation of the useful arts. It wa
of advantage that in later times, with the higher Frenc
the German also, the action of which on all ranks was
universal, gained access and influence. The French re
on the other hand, that emanated entirely from the
the capital, was chiefly adapted to the higher ra
exclusive prevalence might have easily occasioned a se
alike injurious to the state and to the national mind,
a thoroughly rude and barbarous people and a smal
of nobles, who, enervated by revelling in foreign re
would feel themselves strangers in their own country

Through very different means, than those by w
Russian empire had been founded, was Hungary (en
she had been from old times by German and Italian
tion) to be restored to her pristine greatness, afte
losses and ravages she had sustained under the
yoke. From the abundance of her internal resou
restoration had been indeed easy, if the differences in
the parties thereby produced, and the prevailing mist

as in Germany, thrown obstacles in the way of im-
t and of progress in civilization. Hence that fine
id not reap the fruits of Eugene's victories till long
s, and chiefly under the mild, active, reforming, and
t reign of Charles the Sixth. It has been said in
Leopold the First, that by the severity to which he
y his firm adherence to the ancient faith, he only
the religious differences, as well as those obstacles,
evented what had been so gloriously reconquered
g turned immediately to the advantage of the state
egree, which might otherwise have been well ex-
om its internal resources and the fresh impulse
ts energies. This censure is in general not alto-
ifounded. Although principles should remain un-
y external events, and should be the same in all
the maxims by which they are applied and carried
unavoidably vary with times and circumstances.
the constancy of Ferdinand the Second, in the
of a terrible contest, is justly admirable, yet a
rity in later times cannot be deemed suitable.
ues are unfolded on the day of battle; others when
nding powers have stretched forth the hand of
ion to each other. What would have become of
f Germany, of Austria, had a less resolute emperor
linand the Second been opposed to the victorious
Adolphus, to the onset of insurgent nations, barba-
mper, to the unruly and excited ambition of so many
princes and generals? A yielding spirit, an
ble clemency, would only have aggravated the
have ruined the cause. But it was very different
inal religious peace had been concluded, and was
l by all Europe. Now was the time to conciliate
ore and more, to evince a spirit of mutual for-
and to unfold the principles of toleration. If we
ntented with this general view here laid down, but
xamine details, we shall find that, on the whole,
ict of the emperor is fully justifiable, and that
nal cause of the unhappy occurrences in Hungary
reign is to be sought for in the proceedings of the
arty. The opposition party here took the danger-
e of an alliance with foreign powers, with France

and Turkey, a course as repugnant to the national unity, and welfare, as it was hostile to the co Fortunate was it, therefore, that other principles vailed, and that, by the policy of Charles the Sixth was permanently restored between king and peo him and to the salutary influence of his internal ad tion upon the public mind, as well as upon the mate perity of the country, a large share is due of that lo Hungarian nation for his heir, Maria Theresa,- glorious development of national energy that, at th when that empress was encircled with foes, an abandoned by all, saved the old imperial throne.

The renovated power of Austria was the first b European freedom; the second was founded by K liam, who, though with slender resources, by his sagacity overcame the ascendancy of Lewis in E country he saved and regenerated. The religious z Protestants had an essential share in William's un and in his success, not only in preserving Holland ent, but in liberating England by a strong reaction French influence to which, under the last Stuart subjected. The position of the Catholics in Engla whole, and many individual proceedings during th and revolution, were by no means compatible wi justice, or even with mutual forbearance and This revolution was not, however, a matter of relig that was but a co-operating power; the chief motive resistance to the growing encroachments of Lewis. was therefore justified in allying herself, without re religion, with the chief Protestant power, in order t the freedom of Europe, although she never enterta the wish (after the example of French policy) to encourage the Huguenots in the interior of Fran new alliance between the freest Protestant and legitimate Catholic power even contributed more thing else to develop the principles of religious and to diffuse a spirit of mutual forbearance in all tions between European states. The beneficial in this new system was manifested even in the huma of carrying on war. How much do the cruelties, th the devastations of the thirty years' war, contras

e of honour, the recognition of moral principles and
that mutually prevailed in the war of the Spanish
! Unhappily we must add, that this moderation,
on a nice sense of honour, that reminds us of the
of the spirit of the olden chivalry, gradually
n almost every one of the subsequent wars of the
n century, and that finally this last beneficial veil
d decorum was torn from the horrors of war.
olitical relations of Europe, and the negotiations for
the commencement of the eighteenth century, were
d based on the firm foundation of perfect justice;
prevailing spirit in them was at least moderation,
ion more generally recognised, and becoming more
than hitherto. The principle generally adopted
wed in the treaties of peace was to aim at mutual
ent by a moderate gratification of all, only avoiding
utmost care any preponderance dangerous to the
f power. This necessarily led to the overthrow of
balance, for under such a system of dealing with
and relations of Europe, it was easy to foresee, that
er states would more and more be sacrificed to the
on of the larger ones. Under such a system,
ould become divided, if not in name, yet in fact,
a few large states; or if the weights in the scales
often changed, and moved hither and thither,
ould suddenly intervene, depress the scale on one
thus destroy the artificial balance for ever.
gh this apparently mild policy of the balance of
ided by moderation and equity, thus contained in
germ of its own destruction; yet we readily admit
t to perfect justice, as the highest good, and one
be attained by men, moderation is the next best
d we are only too often pained at its absence. It
be acknowledged as a great good, when only the
forms of moderation are observed and respected
affairs; and unquestionably much is gained, when
cided injustice in international relations meets with
opposition as it did at that time. According to this
e condition of the states of Europe, from the reno-
Austria, the raising of the siege of Vienna, and the
ction in England under King William, down to the

time of Maria Theresa, must always appear as of
better epochs of history, especially if compared w
immediately preceding or shortly after following it.

For Europe this was a prosperous epoch; for Aust
and is the most glorious. By the great Eugene, an
like-minded, high-aspiring emperor Joseph the Firs
lofty idea of Austria was again set forth to the wo
its splendour; and in respect to geographical situ
relations, her more modern outline, formed after the
tion of Eugene, was perhaps more fortunate and
vantageous than even in the time of Charles t
The idea of Austria was that of a power, whos
above all it was—in close union with all other s
aiming at grand and general objects, to the utter ex
all narrow principles of a petty and selfish policy—
centre of all civilized European states, to protect t
dignity and freedom of Germany and Italy, and i
to uphold universal justice throughout Europe.

The many great acquisitions which Austria fairly
now maintained by her victorious arms; but in a
sense, those acquisitions were to be cultivated, and
improvement raised to a state of mature prosperity
a government directing its chief attention to int
ministration and well-being, such as the emperor C
Sixth's, was incontestably the most desirable and m
ficial. To this object, as long as he reigned, he d
his energies: he who in his youth had displayed
and Barcelona such fiery activity, such steadfast,
courage. It is to be regretted that he was often dr
from this his favourite object by the manifold fo
tions, which the nice calculation of the balance
among the different states rendered ever more co
entangled. The more unfortunate occurrences to
end of his reign are chiefly attributable to an
several sovereigns of his house committed: the err
ing and basing his plans upon the treaties solemnly
ratified, and sworn to by the other powers, much
was deemed prudent by the sagacious Eugene, o
result showed to be desirable. The first flourishin
Eugene must be altogether regarded as the gol
modern history. The alliance of the maritime p

nstituted, what indeed ought to be always the
of Europe, a true European confederacy for the
e of universal freedom and justice. But it came
too soon, that this high idea was understood but
Under Walpole's influence, and in the latter years
the Sixth, the fluctuations of a dead balance of
already substituted for the former high principle
acy and enthusiasm for European freedom and
The perilous game of alliances perpetually and
changed, such as preceded the war of the
ccession, marks the first stage of moral dissolution
xisting relations of Europe.
e delusive veil of a dominant ceremonious morality,
l decay of honour and of all principle was great
sal throughout Europe. Of this the conduct of the
s, especially of the German princes, on the death
the Sixth, furnishes proofs, such as no reflecting
contemplate even at this day without pain and in-
The heroic steadfastness, however, whereby Maria
ercame all dangers, and maintained the dignity
ent throne, is too fresh and living in the memory
well-disposed to require any new description. Of
dies, who in ancient or modern times have de-
rone with honour and dignity, it were not easy to
xcept Isabella of Castile, who, in all feminine and
rtues as queen and mother of her people, can be
er side. Her actions best refute the policy of the
which excludes women from the throne. As a
ng justice, to impersonate the law, to bear in them-
unity of their people, such is the divine mission
But as nature herself, in many touching examples,
that nothing can surpass the power of a mother's
eserving and defending her children; so also his-
out to us times and situations, in which this divine
be best upheld and made efficient by the strength
irtue, by the true and tender feelings of a mother,
with the sentiments and principles of a princely

all Europe, the world with all its relations at a
e Charles the Fifth,—this, the mission of a true
Maria Theresa may have been unable to fulfil.

Well did she deserve, however, to be called a k
faithful Hungarians styled her, even by her mas
ness. As mother of her people she will be honou
their latest memory.

Let us now turn from the general state of E
from that of Austria, which had again become
thereof, to cast a glance at the internal condition o
and at some productions of intellectual culture, wh
an important moral influence.

Despite the state of weakness, to which Ge
reduced after the peace of Westphalia, during the
of the seventeenth century, yet, from the abun
internal resources, she soon after rallied. Even a
the seventeenth century, when all the German prin
to the rescue of Vienna, the national spirit of G
played itself with a strength and dignity, tha
scarcely have expected at that period. The pos
Germany held in Europe during the eighteenth
very important, and in many respects the most c
Although most of her petty principalities, confo
the constitution, were permanently kept on a peace
defenceless, and thus more than half of her streng
unapplied and undeveloped; yet, so great were
resources, that of the four great military powers of
belonged to Germany. Among many evils the
Austrian succession, and the seven years' war had
one good effect, that the military forces of Austria
were, through their mutual struggle, brought
degree of strength and perfection, that each of
was equal to any other power, and the two u
have been superior to all. Even in this respe
appeared once more in the eighteenth century,
times, the most powerful state of Europe. I
splendour and influence were apparently at least
so many neighbouring kingdoms falling under the
of German families. On one of the first throne
—in England, an ancient German house reigned
turbed security; in Poland the rule of the dukes
though subject to vicissitudes, was brilliant. In
still earlier in Denmark, a German family
throne; in Russia also the reigning dynasty, a

ncient name, became in reality, by repeated inter-
German. But it was not a matter of dynasties
an modes of thinking, the German language and
equired strong influence in Russia and Denmark,
ossessing German provinces, and in England, too,
cause, found at least a point of contact. How im-
beneficial would not German influence have been
, if all the germs of good, actually subsisting by
se advantages, had been cultivated and developed!
of Germany one of the chief princely houses, that
y taking watchful advantage of external circum-
by the energetic application of internal resources
to the royal dignity and speedily also to royal
th less success did Bavaria, after the commence-
eighteenth century, aim sometimes at the Spanish
ometimes at the imperial dignity. Many of the
ces also were distinguished by brilliant intellectual
t all this outward show produced no real advan-
ad no beneficial influence,—the ambition of the
injurious to their country. England's connection
er was not of a kind to be desirable to her, or
ial in its consequences to Europe. The sove-
e Saxon family in Poland only served to increase
of discord and distrust in Europe and even in
That Prussia, which had the most contributed
stroy the old constitution of Germany, ever by
ng policy prevented the substitution of a new
ystem; that the ambition of Bavaria more than
misfortune upon Germany,—the history of the last
es us only too plainly. Even Prussia's greatness
excessive for a mere member of the empire, still
manner in which it was acquired was the Ger-
ion shaken to its very foundations. When the
rthern Germany under the influence of Prussia
separated from the emperor and the empire, in
ars' war, that constitution was really dissolved
d, a total separation seemed scarce avoidable.
ver, however, which first occasioned the division,
slumbering distrust, and by its hesitation at the
ent, prevented the separation from becoming
ich perhaps in more than one respect might
e most advantageous course.

To the character also and the mind of the natio
tious efforts of the German princes were injurio
more so from their so often seeking profit a
foreign connections. After the treaty of We
career of the German mind was unchangeably
The old military power possessed by the natio
times was restrained and fettered by countless
greater part of its internal resources were rende
able. Whether ever a great employment of the
should be again made, depended on the good or
sition of the princes, upon their being animated
by a noble love of glory or by vulgar ambition.
well be asked, whether the exclusive passion for r
and influence was or might have been the most
our country, or the most beneficial to Europe. C
maritime power had taken another direction, t
turing industry of the Germans was still as ever,
details; but whether it were ever possible to re
vantages, which foreign countries had drawn fr
fortunes of Germany, must have appeared in th
century, as it still does, very doubtful. After
power was cramped, her commerce diverted, an
factures thereby crippled, scarcely any career save
one of knowledge remained open to her restless,
industry—a quality which no enemy has ever
German nation. To seek knowledge with unwea
to gather learning of every kind, became now th
istic aim, object, and calling of the German m
diately after the treaty of Westphalia, this tend
ceptible; but the after-effects of such a desol
necessity paralyzed not only material prosperit
itself. Subsequently, when the energies of the c
to revive, it was of still more injurious conseque
ambition of the princes was turned towards forei
and that a new civil war divided Germany in the
between Austria and Prussia. More than other
ever, did the Germans display activity in this di
even after the dissolution of their national un
science and art exerted a European influence.
literature has never hitherto been used and appli
the great German sovereigns, as it might have

l abide down to the remotest times. This restless,
l search for knowledge is the characteristic merit of
ctual culture of the Germans. The intrinsic excel-
French literature, in its peculiar perfection—in the
language, and in vivid expressiveness—is by no
utralized by the one-sided principles of some, or by
nt misuse by others; even so little is the variety and
y of knowledge, which distinguish the scientific and
ass in Germany above all other countries in Europe,
l by its palpable want of unity, or from such learn-
once appearing practical, and capable of immediate
n to life. These defects in the intellectual culture of
ans have hitherto originated more in their political
nces than in the character of the national mind itself.
n in religion, and the division into several states also,
fail to exert an influence over mental cultivation.
ness, the insignificance into which a great portion of
r German principalities had sunk, could produce no
lt than a total indifference, even a certain contempt,
t concerned the state and public life. Hence the
tendency of the German mind towards science; its
n to employ itself earnestly with the remotest objects,
most immediate appeared so often urgently to need
o require undivided attention.

surprising that when the relations of the political
n and of public life were so confined, a like spirit
first prevail in science? That the fault lay in cir-
s and not in the nature of the national intellect, is
y many indications. Even in the first period of
after the unhappy peace of Westphalia, Germany in
ould point to a man such as hardly any other country
nat time boast of. Like Hugo Grotius at an earlier
was a European scholar by the extent of his connec-
scope of his learning, and the influence he exercised.
he generally wrote in Latin according to old cus-
also in French occasionally, and only once proved
ably he could handle the German language when
yet he belongs, nevertheless, not to Europe only, but
lly to Germany, by the especial influence he there
by the nature and quality of his mind, and by the
which he belonged, and to which he was indebted for

his training. He flourished in that brilliant and hap
the age of Eugene, when, by the alliance between En
Austria, universal freedom was maintained, a new spi
ration diffused, and minds, especially in Germany, ar
more and stimulated. Great was Leibnitz by the va
his knowledge, and still more by the use and empl
made of it. He it was who chiefly, nay almost alon
to defend religion and to revive true philosophy, by
the false philosophy and intellectual opposition whi
ready begun to raise its head, and which undermined
first instance, and then all principles, morals, and in
This was precisely what the age most needed.
alone was unable wholly to avert the headlong torr
delity and of intellectual anarchy and desolatio
great services must not therefore be underrated.
defect, perhaps, was one which subsequently was
the intellectual culture of the Germans. The too mi
nature of his studies, the vast variety of his know
learned pursuits were injurious to their strength
His character, the use he made of his genius and hi
may perhaps be best explained by a parallel drawn
history of his own age. If it is allowable to comp
such different spheres of action, and to place the
juxtaposition with those two illustrious Austrian
who so admirably denote the spirit of their time
degree of strength to which Germany was grad
rising; if this is allowable, then would Leibnitz, a
and philosopher, have far more of the wary art of
culi than of the daring greatness of his exalted
patron Eugene.

Poets and orators belong to their language an
scholars in general only to science itself. A few
from their great influence on their age, or as the typ
of its modes of thinking, belong not only to their
to the world at large, and to the whole human race.
and scholars of this universal influence were in
Plato and Aristotle, and in the middle age in Ger
bertus Magnus. Of historians and publicists there
the Romans Tacitus; and in the flourishing age
literature, Machiavelli, not less distinguished by
genius than by the pernicious influence of his writi

m in religion, Hugo Grotius and Leibnitz were the
and the first to rise high above the confusion and the
ns of their time to a more comprehensive and pure
y of life, of law, and of faith.

ss, although not in so favourable a sense, do the
f some French writers of the eighteenth century
general history. They formed at first a mere sci-
position party, which was long gradually maturing,
at last burst forth. What was the ultimate tendency
rty could not well be doubtful, when Helvetius amid
approbation represented a selfish sensuality, as the
onable creed, and all else to be mere prejudice; when
as the founder and centre of a society of authors,
many wrote anonymously, preached up undisguised

They attacked not only the Christian, or revealed
general, but also natural religion itself with a singu-
sionate hatred, but yet systematically and not with-
usive appearance of historical learning. Yet more
s perhaps than the influence of those two writers,
of Rousseau and Voltaire, precisely because they
higher qualities and greater talents. The captivating
of the former was well calculated to seize on the
the more generous. The wit, the poetic gifts, the
f literary styles and of learning possessed by the
tributed the more to diffuse the new revolutionary
thinking among the higher classes of society, as
im the new opinions were, in the form at least in
ey were conveyed, connected with the older French
, that was still so valued by the nation. Different
therwise their views, a destructive mode of thinking,
e of all faith, morals, and social principles as well as
ment, was common to them both. And how great
he number of writers, besides the leading ones above
vho sought to diffuse the new doctrines by every
nculcation! Since the time when a host of sophists
arose among the most refined nation of antiquity,
brilliant eloquence, by wit, and the new arts of
acuteness, held up to ridicule not only the creed and
rites of the people, but also the purer doctrines of
sophers, and even all morality and justice; so that in
me the education and modes of thinking, even the

whole social organization, of the Greeks were chan
thereby the downfall of their freedom brought abou
that time, a like spectacle, such as was now exh
France, had scarcely been seen.

The political influence, therefore, of the literature a
sophy of France in the eighteenth century, the direct
public opinion then took, became more and more dange
day to day. Very different was the case in England.
the agreement of many of their first principles, and
the English writers were often the source, whence th
party hostile to religion and the state drew their opin
there, although appearances were similar, a totally
direction was taken. A kind of legal constitution,—
constitutional limitation, was introduced into the in
culture, the literature, and philosophy of England, a
in her Government itself. The general feeling for th
well-being and for the principles necessary for its mai
placed all contending energies even in this intelle
apparently free department in a steady equipoise,
them there, and averted any dangerous outbreaks o
rally pernicious and revolutionary mode of thinking
in England no such general moral dissolution could t
as in France. Whenever the growth of scepticism s
threaten danger to the chief buttresses of all social ins
the principles of morality and justice, patriotic fe
aroused, if not to strike at the root of the evil b
science, yet externally to support and uphold the
foundations of morality and religion by the assumptio
probability or hypothesis, so that the fabric of s
might not fall to the ground.

What the majority of the thinkers and scholars,
the national genius itself, had effected in England, K
sought to bring about in Germany. He aimed at
scientific modes of thinking a permanent form and
tution, as it were, such as would be conformabl
general well-being in all that concerns higher knowl
and man. An attempt like this necessarily failed
many. Kant's philosophy, however, had at least
of counteracting the undisguised atheistical spirit
fluence of the modern French literature, and at once
attention to Leibnitz and the older and better philo

. Yet in many points the doctrines of the German
phers were not unfavourable to the destructive prin-
f the age. This will surprise no one who examines
osely. To him it will be evident that, despite all
nt reverence for experimental knowledge and his faith
supernatural, the inward spirit of this philosophy,
somewhat different form, is no other than that giddy
ism, which has shown itself to be the universal malady
ighteenth century. Only in the German philosopher
issues deeper from the root, and has been developed
ar more scientific form. The founder of this philo-
imself, indeed, endeavoured in some degree to impose
ts upon this rationalistic fanaticism, and to set up
constitutional limits, but the attempt was vain. In
sive condition of the greater part of Germany, in the
of a compact constitution, and a united and energetic
spirit, nothing could be remoter from the national
nd the state of public opinion in Germany, than those
tional limits which, through a sense of public utility
tional well-being, have maintained the literature and
phy of the English in an equipoise that may be tolerated.
other hand, even if the worst doctrines of French
phy found some adherents in Germany, they never
here any immediate practical evil. As here intellec-
ture and modes of thinking took no political direction
er, a certain indifference rather to everything external,
in impartiality of views, became prevalent. In this
as undoubtedly a risk of our becoming too readily
ed to anything, too quickly content with anything,
e only free to give it a form of our own, and of being
nable to offer a firm internal resistance to any domi-
inion imposed by external circumstances or by force.
he rationalistic fanaticism, no such destructive revolu-
frenzy could spring up in Germany as in France;
the most, the anarchy which the circumstances of the
ad already engendered, more and more prevailed in
f thinking. A sort of philosophic voluptuousness has
the peculiar characteristic of the German mind. It
that our literature is deficient in soul, or in moral
ty, but only in strength and unity, unless altered

circumstances, with the awakened sense of our wa
introduce those qualities.

In the eighteenth century, philosophic modes of
exercised such great, such universal, and visible
even upon external history, upon the career and th
of states and nations, that this brief notice will cert
appear misplaced.

In public opinion lay one deep cause of a gen
vulsion in Europe; and after the evil had reached
height, that convulsion could scarcely be averte
other cause for revolution was in the change of the
of policy in France, and in the new political re
Germany, whose power was not less great than the
in its bosom had been dangerous. The first prelud
approaching outbreak were the suppression of the
the Jesuits, the partition of Poland, and the Amer
The flames first burst forth in the Netherlands and
land, precisely the countries where the political syst
eighteenth century took its origin, and was found
centre of all the greater events of that century is
known change in Austrian policy. Instead of
alliance with England, which was the foundatio
glorious era of Eugene, a league with France wa
into after the plan of Prince Kaunitz. By this
event all the subsequent occurrences of the eighte
tury are to be explained; nay, even to understand
ceding ones aright, and in all their influence and e
must ever keep in mind the great change in publ
brought about by that treaty.

To judge by results, the system of Prince Kaunitz
in many respects, pernicious. But it needs only a
the other European powers to show how entirely i
out of the then existing situation of Europe. The
system in France had, in like manner, been totally
Many French writers are inclined to regard th
eighteenth century down to the revolution, as an
progressive decay of French power. They are rig
spect to the corruption of public opinion; there is n
to support their view, if we take the strength of th
tary land-force as the only standard; and even th
intrigues which in France became matters of notorie

tom of weakness. But we shall form a very different
nt, if we look less to the external military fame than
nternal well-being and industrial prosperity. If, how-
the latter part of the eighteenth century, decay is
visible in more than one branch of the national
y, yet the cause thereof did not lie in the new political
itself, but only in the inability to carry it out alto-
successfully; it was, in fact, a failure. Lewis the
enth's protracted wars of conquest utterly ruined in-
prosperity; hence the inclination of the court to a
acific policy. It was not difficult to perceive, and,
the older French history furnishes abundant proof,
ance could gain but little real advantage by conquest,
minion over neighbouring countries; and that her
prosperity depended solely on her acquiring maritime
colonies, and an extensive share of commerce. To-
his object the efforts of French policy were more and
irected during the eighteenth century. That in the
of such an object, France would be led to the adoption
r more peaceful policy; and would cease to be a con-
state, as under Lewis the Fourteenth, was in the very
of things. For the material well-being of France
policy was unquestionably the best, and it would pro-
ave proved favourable to the peace of Europe, had it
led; had the system remained predominant. But it
failed. England was at once taken as a model, and
with as a rival. No happy frontier-line divided the
ions of the nations in the other quarters of the world,
once the case with Portugal and Spain; on the con-
he geographical intermixture of French and English
s in the West Indies, in North America, and in the
ndies, furnished matter and occasion for perpetual dis-
The grasping enterprises of France, which appeared
e no other object than to seize upon the whole of
America, were the immediate occasion of the seven
war, which was a double one, both by sea and land.
it proved decidedly unfortunate for France, and suc-
for England; for Europe it had no other consequence
ie recognition of Prussia by Russia and Austria as one
great powers of Europe, of which there were now four
of three.

The efforts of France to acquire naval power a
mercial greatness failed, not only from England's su
in resources of this kind, but from the fact also, that
system of mercantile enterprise was not well suite
genius of the French. We need only scan the h
the French colonies written by their own writers, to
at once, that the fickleness peculiar to the nation, a
it is left to itself, was the reason why their trade and
often again rapidly declined, or, at least, never
that great and mature growth, which unflagging
and persevering firmness conferred on the colonies
merce of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the English.
not difficult to foresee, too, that this striving aft
and commercial greatness, unquestionably suited, and
necessary as it was to the prosperity of France, m
bring about an essential change, not only in her for
in her internal policy. What part of a state indee
uninfluenced by its commerce (if it be an extensive
by its colonies? Perhaps, with a commerce as
France desired, even a change in the constitution c
been scarcely avoided. But the government should
lax principles, have let a vague indefinite freedom s
it ought to have grasped the helm of state with a
hand, and have remoulded the national character,
least, as the new system of policy required. On
hand, as in England, while greater latitude of f
conceded, the strictness of ancient forms is, at the s
more rigidly maintained, so also should the go
have guided public opinion with vigour, have cr
dangerous opposition, and have even introduced a
reform, in order to avoid revolution. For this polic
vernment was too weak; the new commercial systen
best adapted for the interests of the nation, but no
suited to its character. The attempt to become a g
mercial people had no successful result; the failu
attempt was the immediate cause of the revolution
whole energy of the nation, after the great interna
sions, was thrown into wars of conquest.

This was not to be foreseen. And who would
gladly indulged the hope that in France, and conse
Europe, a peaceable and equitable system would at

through the inclination or caprice of any sovereign
t through a new direction of the national energies.
look to England, we shall find there too reasons
o explain the new political system of Austria. The
between England and Austria in Prince Eugene's
s undoubtedly to be regarded as a natural, nay a
y league for the maintenance of freedom in Europe.
England always regarded it as such? Had she not
substituted mere mechanical ideas of the equality
nce of power for the moral principles of universal
and justice? How much were not these fatal views
, even at the first peace, founded upon the glorious
of Marlborough and Eugene! How much had not
been at fault before Maria Theresa resolved to act
new principles! The whole alliance, so glorious in its
g, did not take such a turn as it ought to have done.
gland and Holland then become one power, or even
, as at that epoch might have been easily effected by
any violation of ancient forms, the influence of their
pon Europe would have been far more beneficial.
needed some continental possession; but Hanover
t adequately answer that end. Far from England
g too powerful by such a union, France would rather
ve found the means from the more dependent situa-
Holland of securing that commercial equality and
of the seas, which she aimed at in her new system.
ine of Holland was the immediate result of the non-
shment of such a union, and the oppression of
the first fault which can be imputed to England.
ngland, after a completely successful war, allowed
fall into dependence on France, may be to a certain
xcused by a concurrence of unfortunate accidents and
ances. That she effected so little in the war of the
succession, that she permitted the spoliation of that
y, whose maintenance and integrity should have been
concern, betrayed the defects in her policy, other-
brilliant and successful.
d it not, however, have been better, if instead of
changing her system, Austria had sought to maintain
and friendly relations with the two great continental
and in the contest with Prussia had relied on her own

resources alone? The majority may indeed so j
that subsequent history has proved more than ever,
tria is always strongest when she relies upon herself
knows how to turn to full account her own resou
king of Prussia, however, at the head of his ar
truth a formidable foe; and at a period, too, wh
still keenly felt the effects of many a loss, and
strength was not nearly so fully dilated or develo
afterwards the case. And would not one of t
powers, if not allied with Austria, have infallibly
field against her? All these considerations are s
than sufficient to justify the empress Maria Ther
the censures cast upon her for adhering to a syste
of which assuredly did not originate with her.
did she sanction the suppression of the Jesuits wit
hesitation, nor the partition of Poland without unv
The former occurrence might, nay, must have le
essential changes in the internal constitution of a
states; and by the latter a new policy in the in
relations of Europe was established, which excite
prehensions for the independence and security
smaller and weaker states. The period of stern
all-ruling military power had now arrived; a sy
often paid but little attention to the rights and cl
less powerful nations, and could not be brought
without occasioning much harshness and manifold
even in internal policy. By Prussia was this s
devised, and by her chiefly brought about. It i
garded as the second stage of that decomposition
in the eighteenth century, which was now rapidly
As the first stage thereof we have before chara
period, when a dead, artificial balance of power wa
substitute for the true European confederacy, that
for the maintenance of universal justice and politic
This period was denoted by the rapid alternation
capriciously formed, and arbitrarily dissolved.

A happier epoch seemed once more approachi
latter days of Maria Theresa, when the newly enki
war between France and England was unable to
peace of the continent; when even Prussia's
warlike jealousy of Austria respecting Bavaria was

ceased; when the last king of France was ruling with ess hitherto unknown in that kingdom, and Prussia, ancing a freedom of thought quite in accordance with t of the times; when from America, beyond the far re resounded over to Europe the news of a young there flourishing in freedom, together with the ad- ames of a Franklin and a Washington—when the s of civilized Europe, that had been gathering up he long peace, were producing general prosperity;— ter Maria Theresa's happy reign the Emperor Joseph's orms and changes in the first years of his government ening still wider prospects to view;—in these times s gave themselves up to the most boundless hopes of l felicity for the human race, of a new glorious period e empire of reason, and of unceasing progress in per- and enlightenment; all the military and political retofore endured, were now to disappear for ever. was but a delusive hope, and the then apparently tate of Europe was only that dangerous calm that ecedes the outbreak of a fearful storm. Even in the ars of the emperor Joseph the Second occurred the ptoms of the third and most dangerous crisis in the issolution of Europe,—namely that of anarchy and of lt of nations.

his circumstances and position, power, and innate of mind, there was no monarch in Europe but the Joseph the Second, whose mission it so eminently was nter the great contest of the age, and with a powerful guide the changes now almost inevitable so as to general well-being. Yet of all the reflections, for he history of his eventful life furnishes matter, not nuch presses itself on a thoughtful mind as the ques- y a successful result so rarely crowned the designs of eror Joseph, his most eager wishes, and most strenuous

e we attempt to answer this question, as far as history us, we shall take permission to pause for a few s to express the feelings, with which the prospect pproaching catastrophe fills us.

ble and transitory is universal dominion. From its e seat, on the great rivers of Asia; in the rich valleys

and hills of Persia,—it passed to the joyous, artis
Greece; thence to grave Rome, in the centre of l
afterwards even more northward to the Germans
and to Spain, to France, England, and Russia.
appear; the most powerful often bear within them
their very origin, the germ of their own decay.
change, although the time is passed, when whol
arise. The life of man only remains ever the sa
in the beginning; his true life,—namely, the li
feeling. To-day as a thousand years ago, the
beauty of the child is the type of a purer ex
the earthly one; youth still feels itself seized
melancholy feeling of uncomprehended love and
hope. When this transitory bloom has passe
immense longing for restless action overpowers
the man, not from idle vanity, not for the mer
name, but from the full consciousness of power
to exercise and employ it. The events of the
—accident interrupts the greatest plans; misfo
outwearies even the steadfast, death or differer
ments separates friends. The best thing that is
mind of man, when he has enjoyed the rich
even to satiety, when he has been sufficiently e
proved by battling with the world, is in the ev
to attain knowledge; to see that clearly now
strengthened and guided him as an obscure f
longings of his youth, and as a lofty faith in the
career of manhood. This alone,—the develop
inward mental faculties, is life; it becomes a m
and redoubled feeling, when many co-operate i
and when this spiritual activity is not that
vidual, but of a whole family and large societ
does not exist for the sake of the state and its a
tutions, and as the mere material and instrumen
rather is the state itself to be chiefly valued
useful for the sake of the development of that sp
which, and not in itself, it has its object. If we lo
mediate object of the state,—it is unquestionably
if, in reference to this object alone, we compare
of things in artificial states with the state of
such as some have fabled it to be, but such as

ountries of Asia, and formerly prevailed in the
t of Europe,—the state of things, where every one
is rights as his own master according to his sense of
the hallowed customs of patriarchal authority, of
, and even of the blood-feud,—if we thus compare
y seem doubtful which state is to be preferred as
e interests of justice or of individual welfare—the
edom or the artificial state. The latter generally
object but imperfectly, prevents indeed, or severely
ne pettier evils of individual wrong, but introduces
er hand evils of greater magnitude and of a more
and destructive nature. What outweighs, how-
ese evils and brings us to consider large and arti-
s as salutary for mankind, is their necessity for
n of all higher civilization. How had this been
thout that communion of earlier and later ages, of
ations, of remote countries, by which mankind first
onnected whole? Large, artificial states accomplish
hereby compensate for the other evils which they
All else that is good and great,—every enjoy-
every feeling of life, is also possible in a state of
xcept knowledge, which is accumulative. The
o one man of itself, and isolated, has ever been
discovering truth! The whole of the past, and
he present acts upon each individual, although
sly, as soon as he enters within the circle of know-
ence the necessity and the wholesomeness of the
t in what seems to be its immediate object, but in
effects. It answers the higher invisible object of
communion, the threads of which extend from the
ning of the world's history, throughout all changes
n and time, even to the final extinction of the
e. It is with mankind at large, as with the indi-
h the world's history, as with life itself, the begin-
he end are dark, the middle alone is clear. As no
member the first awakening of his own conscious-
he moment of final dissolution, often as we have
ed it in others; and how it appears in some fearful,
ainful, as was their life; in others sublime as a
nsfiguration,—yet ever remains to ourselves a
-so can no human eye penetrate to the beginning of

history, or to the remoter future thereof. Yet
extend our view but a little beyond the ages that
surround us, to no very remote distance, in orde
that all the works and institutions of man cannot
in their essence than perishable, transitory, and
for a limited time, for one stage in the developmen

The same holds good, likewise, in all the artif
ments and special institutions of the state. Th
the only great society existing among men. O
strictly exclusive, but therefore more compreh
corporation of the church, and the association
Like every other art, political art has its impas
and the eighteenth century has only too often
blems for humanity, which political art, prope
even the most comprehensive and perfect, has
unable to solve. The narrowness of ordinar
ship is most strikingly evinced when it does
these two great powers, the church and comm
pendent of itself, and does not confine itself me
certain limits to their action on the state, but
to its own essential detriment, to subjugate t
and to incorporate them with itself.

To reflections of this kind, as to how far th
and productions of man are frail and perishable
of permanent worth, the history of the latter
eighteenth century often gives occasion. In tha
almost every state had to endure important cha
vulsions. Besides these special causes for p
vation, there was one of a more general k
existed an internal division not only in politic
also in the spirit of the state, which took the fo
of a contest between the old and the new, so
struggle between two different modes of adminis
may best characterize this division by saying
and body of the state were not in harmony, o
their just mutual relations were inverted. T
tical institutions and political science reposed
upon the foundation of religion, of national m
word, upon moral springs of action. In t
century, a new political science arose, which
upon the undefined working of moral springs

upon the development of material resources. It
ed that, by the skilful adjustment and careful
of these resources, the artificial mechanism of
stitutions might be most surely brought to per-
his mechanical system of policy sprang chiefly out
e, whose influence now first began to be fully felt
and to increase and multiply most dispropor-
e material resources and wants of the state. A
ause was the division of Europe into four great
powers, if not altogether equal, yet each suffi-
erful to aim at securing the first rank. From
rivalry of these great powers it became the first
ne new political science to expand the material
f the state to the uttermost, and by the most
fforts to raise them to the highest pitch. The
es followed this example. Not only their in-
heir foreign policy, was thereby totally changed.
me policy, unbroken uniformity was the object,
law, and custom, morals, and moral considera-
straints, stood in the way. Abroad, to attain the
and isolation of the state, none of the sacrifices
would be considered too great, which in earlier
have been much more readily made for the sake
id justice, of public opinion, of religion, or of any
l motive, than for any trifling acquisition of
That extreme exertions of strength lead to ex-
s repeatedly shown in the great continental wars
eenth century. As money was wanting to employ
painfully collected, war became dependent upon
l subsidies to a degree before unknown. As a
nere calculation must fail, where ultimately all
n courage, mind, and will, upon moral energies,
r to the state of confusion into which the finances
countries, although they were regarded as the
n of public policy, and obtained the exclusive
the statesman. Hence some writers have de-
new method of calculating the physical resources
olitical economy, and the administrative system,
d based upon statistical principles and tables, as
l science, as the main source of the evils that
n Europe. This, however, is to confound the

thing itself with its abuse. We might as well
atheistical modes of thinking of the last century
advances made in physical science, which has oft
very innocently, it is true, occasioned or favou
ficial scepticism.

The evil lay not in the artificial calculation an
ment of the physical resources of the state, but in
of the true order of things,—in the subordinatio
sacrifice of moral to material interests,—so that
the state by degrees became extinct; while the
sought to perfect the body thereof, not as a livi
as a dead machine. Great and glorious is the
material resources, so long as they minister
ruinous, however, when in these resources, the
and forgotten. The evil lay not in commerce
luxury considered in themselves, nor even in sta
and increasing taxes, nor in political economy a
but in the fact, that as the new political econo
fected, and acquired greater influence, the moral
more and more their force. The primary cause
ation of moral feeling was the indifference and
which sprang out of the Reformation. That this
matical view of the state and of political econo
aspiring to obtain ascendancy, tended to underm
edifice of civilization and of human society; that
clusively mathematical and merely material view,
to the moral one, constituted the peculiar essenc
political system, and of all the revolutions to w
rise, and that the seductive name of freedom was
sive veil—all this is evident enough.

Of all the states of Europe which first experie
sions, Poland, Sweden, and Holland possess few
our attention, because those revolutions sprang
mestic causes, but were directed for the most pa
influence. England and Russia were in part
their great strength in the eighteenth century to
stance, that they had already gone through thei
and were thereby secured from new convulsions.
civil contests were over, England had succeeded
ing a happy balance between the ancient form
principles of her constitution, and the modern

nd the new interests and relations to which it gave his balance, as a mere artificial arrangement, would been durable, had it not been permanently supported eld by the genius of the nation. In Russia all the f the state, moral and material, were at least con- n one hand, so that any great internal discord was prevented, and a form of government established, owerful without and secure within, although not to unqualified praise, was yet adapted to the genius ne circumstances of the nation.

onvulsion was altogether a universal one. The pre- iddy rationalism had seized not only on the nations, ne governments also. In many countries, it is true, rents of the new system of political materialism suc- n exciting the people to a fanatical sympathy with as in truth repugnant to their inmost feelings and aith. In other states, however, hostility to this new al policy, as well as attachment to the ancient moral nore congenial as it was to the national manners, were of considerable popular movements and general resist- as a proof how much the general causes of these con- existed, not in this or that state only, but in the age culiar circumstances, we may observe, that the attempt uce among the nation the least disposed towards new ideas, the Turks, a new military system more ally perfect, and which the general rivalry of all nations seemed to render necessary, have led in our o inconsiderable commotions and catastrophes. Two he greater Protestant states remained in the first in- ogether free from the general agitation that pervaded In these states, together with the old order of things, constitution of parliamentary estates had been long olished, and hence no essential obstacle to the new mained—nothing was left to be destroyed. In the tholic states the agitation was necessarily far greater, est of all in France and Austria. Spain, by her ex- all foreign influence, by her internal simplicity, was, t instance at least, better guarded against revolution ; l the smaller German states, depended on France or

rm of the revolution in France lay more immediately

in the fluctuations between the military and the
systems, which produced even in finance the oppos
and parties for manufactures and for agriculture.
pean revolution, however, did not first break out t
another state. In Austria the heterogeneous con
the monarchy itself furnished an opportunity fo
forms and necessary changes ; they were precipit
duced and undertaken by the powerful mind of t
Joseph, who was absolutely ruled and carried a
spirit and by the doctrines of his age.

Who more than the Emperor Joseph seemed
to be hurried away by the spirit of the age, but
and to guide its just movements with a steady h
besides the requisite energy and understanding,
so firmly convinced that he only sought right,
possessed a will so resolved and constant. The
been before proposed, wherefore were these
nevertheless unfulfilled, wherefore did Joseph's
successor acquire the reputation of distinguished
in part, too, by the rare union of firmness and
with which he revoked a portion of his predecess
and measures? With the answer to this questi
it is furnished by history, I shall conclude these le
doing so I shall only take the general point of
details of the Emperor Joseph's plans, principle
sures, the manner in which they were in part, bu
part only, fitly carried out, in part revoked, i
incomplete and half-executed, are still rather a
intense, immediate, and animated discussion, tha
for the calm meditations of history.

Most writers assign the emperor's rashness, h
reap the fruit as soon as he had sown the seed, w
ing time for its silent growth, as the general c
imperfect success of his measures. Easily as th
may be explained by Joseph's position, educati
and character, correct as the remark may therefor
be, yet it does not account altogether for the fa
plans. Not all useful reforms can be brought
state of themselves without active co-operation,
by biding one's time. Many changes, when on
acknowledged to be good and wholesome, can only

or not at all, and in such cases conciliatory forms
ways be observed.

ears to me that it was Joseph's neglect to win over
e public opinion, that created the principal obstacles
easures, and often hindered their success. It would
duous to expatiate on the great obstacles, the often
ntable difficulties, this omission threw in his way in
herlands and in Hungary, in the Catholic church,
ng Protestant powers in his own kingdom, and in
t large.

emies knew how to take advantage of this omission.
ppened, that he, who first destroyed the old forms
s of the constitution of Germany, started up as the
of German freedom, using the high-sounding name
ederation of princes, as was done in earlier times by
s of the empire, and of the German name. Hence,
n-out farce, with all its scandalous gravity, again
edence among our too-well disposed and credulous
nd the enemy was able to bring public opinion
over to his side.

in regard to religion the emperor Joseph's inten-
re entirely mistaken and erroneously judged. The
f the Jesuits was suddenly overthrown by a blow
in secret, while the jealousy of the other religious
ntributed to their downfall. This society, long after
lesiastical institutes had sunk into utter inactivity,
inued efficient and ever active for the weal of the
both in Europe and in the other quarters of the
nd by their services to science and to education.
esponded to the spirit of the age, and satisfied its
What other order could now reasonably hope to re-
ogether unchanged, to be alone made an exception?
anges in the ecclesiastical constitution could still
mpracticable, or even arduous, after the enemy had
ceeded in inflicting so great a blow?
n reforms were unavoidable; and how wholesome
ey not have proved, if the innovators had not been
ntent with destroying and sweeping away old insti-
ut had founded in their place new ones, had rightly
and comprehended how much good was to be found
g establishments, had restored all that was paralyzed

and degenerate to its original functions, and had v
stimulated activity, reanimated mind, and given a n
ization to ecclesiastical institutes more suited to t
circumstances of the times. This would have been re
form; and undoubtedly it would have been a hard an
work. The lighter task, mere destruction, without su
ought in its place, was better suited to the spirit o
Were we to ascribe to some of the less intelligent
of these new church reforms a weight, to which, in
are not entitled, we should almost believe, that it
the object of their authors to bring about an
fusion of the Catholic and Protestant creeds, or eve
rate from the Catholic church altogether, and to e
sort of special, Austrian, national Christianity. Al
quite alien to the emperor Joseph's strong unde
and equally so to his sound sentiments. Those
described him from intimate personal knowledge, l
ciently proved that, in this respect, his own senti
convictions were thoroughly right, and conformal
ligion. Any single measure which may be cited, as a
proving the contrary, is either in itself of little in
or did not originate with him, but in the misund
and exaggerations of functionaries, or in the in
counsellors, to whom the most sagacious and se
monarch cannot avoid intrusting details.

It were superfluous to refer to all the points, on
emperor Joseph has been in a like manner misju
he had many enemies, and he had himself neglect
public opinion. This neglect is the more to be lar
public opinion soon acquired a power so great and f
and almost exclusively governed the age. How ma
too, stood at his command to influence public o
become the pilot of that age, and to steer it to
haven of universal well-being! He, the offspring a
Maximilian, and Charles the Fifth, the successor of
Corvinus, emperor of Germany, sovereign of the F
German Netherlands, protector and lord of the mo
and industrious provinces of Italy—a man, too, of p
mind and restless energy and activity; well vers
useful sciences; familiar with the various countries a
of Europe from personal observation; master of

ges ; in personal intercourse so attractive and irresisti-
e, we say, ought to have swayed the minds of all men,
ve been the saving genius of Europe, by imposing
on the storms that were menacing her with destruc-

ould, moreover, have had a beneficial influence on his
nd, had he placed himself in living contact with public
, and had he watched and studied it more. He would
n have confounded the one-sided theories and transitory
s of individual writers with the measures really required
general wants and by the new circumstances of the
This has been objected to his views on some points of
ion and internal administration.
emperor Joseph sought the same thing, with far more
and decision, it is true, but still precisely the same
as did most of the sovereigns of the eighteenth cen-
the internal unity, namely, of his own states, and their
solation from others. The latter was unsuited to the
r nature of the Austrian state. That monarchy, from
y situation, can scarcely be an isolated kingdom ; as the
nd central point of Europe, it was brought by this its
l destination into the closest connection with the most
ant countries, and from all times was emphatically a
al and truly imperial state, and such in all probability
never wholly cease to be. This isolation of the state,
self-seclusion within its own frontiers, even in itself
btful policy, was utterly impracticable as long as the
gn of Austria was at the same time emperor of
ny.
on, on the other hand, between all the separate parts of the
, and especially a closer connection between Hungary
erman Austria, was unquestionably a great and most
le blessing. But it was not a mere mechanical uni-
y in external forms of administration, it was not a
material fusion, that was to be wished for ; but chiefly
ne old moral ties which linked Hungary and Austria to-
might be drawn closer, and be more generally re-
ed. The matter will be best explained by an illus-
. The greatest of the Emperor Joseph's ancestors,
s the Fifth, reigned over a monarchy which, if possible,
mposed of more various elements than Austria was in the

eighteenth century. Of all the admirable institutio
that great monarch founded, not one perhaps was so p
conceived as the organization he gave to the body o
grandees, and the spirit he inspired it with.
greatest and most powerful men of the entire na
formed into a brilliant and dignified senate around t
Castile and Arragon became thus for the first time fu
without any fatal fusion of their material interest
any illegal destruction of their special privileg
Netherlands also and Naples became thereby clos
to the ruling country, for the leading men in eit
aspire to that high dignity. Hence the unity an
grandeur of the Spanish monarchy. While Itali
zation, science, and art flourished in Spain, the milit
and the state policy of the Spaniards, which was ba
the loftiest ideas, predominated in Italy, and ra
country from the state of corruption into which it ha
itself to sink. And while the Spanish language an
struck deep roots in the Netherlands, the high-minc
ror did not think it beneath his dignity to seek opp
for introducing the Flemish-Burgundian costume i
It may be said that in that exalted model is contai
available for every state composed of heterogene
While the well-being of each particular country, ac
its character, peculiar rights and customs, languag
traditions, was intrusted to the care of the respecti
and assemblies, the unity of the empire was best an
nently secured by encircling the throne with a sena
out of the grandees of each nation.

As regards Hungary, the objections to the
Joseph's reforms should not at least be drawn fro
isting constitution. How is it possible that, while
everything was changed, in Hungary everything s
main as it was five hundred years ago. Matthias
and St. Stephen changed much in their time, and
arbitrarily too, abolished old institutions and establ
ones, and yet are venerated by the nation itself as gr
From the energies of his mind, the emperor Joseph
well felt himself called to achieve a like task. But u
by the manner in which that work was executed, m
irritated, and, together with the reforms found obj

ally rejected, others, truly necessary and wholesome,
o the ground.
the political changes and innovations which the pre-
es have brought about, or striven to bring about, the
its exclusive privileges and original functions, form
centre. This is the case where the revolutionary
it has been treated as a mere subject of calm investi-
or where its solution has been the especial object of a
ent contest. In describing the different periods o
history, I have throughout characterized the nobility
ndamental power of the state, permanent under all
of external form. Hence a few remarks in illustration
rinciple will most appropriately conclude these lec-
I have but one question now to answer, what new
shape of nobility will arise out of the great changes
rred at the end of the last century? A complete
will not attempt, as the matter does not yet belong
y, but is involved in actual contention, and is in the
ts development; but the following may serve by way
tion, and may stimulate reflection.
ovement of the age clearly reveals itself as a contest
the old and the new. The nobility have generally
mission to be champions of the old; this they have
have accordingly performed many glorious feats in
t of this calling. But it is not sufficient to love and
e old merely as such, and because it is old. History
s that the essence of nobility consists not in any par-
rivilege or external form, whatever these may be.
ontrary we learn from history (and this I have taken
point out), that the forms of nobility have often
but that in its essential functions that institution, un-
most various forms and special external privileges, has
ained invariably the same. Culpable are the views
partisans of novelty, who seek only to destroy old
ons, and who believe that anything really new is to
here or there, in this or that system, as the discovery
ividual. What is really new never arises, is never
about through an individual, however great be his
or power, but through the general progress of man-
o speak more correctly, through the action of Divine
ce. On the other hand, that defence of the old order

of things is alone right which enters into the spirit
lofty sentiments of antiquity, and is ever penetrated w
feelings. This is the high calling of the nobility, and
no nobility that is not also a nobility of mind will e
with success the contests of the age.

In Germany, where it took its origin, and espe
Austria, has the aristocratic constitution of moder
struck the deepest root. In the great empire of th
which connects Europe and Asia, everything i
subordinated to an unlimited monarchical sway.
western countries, originally Roman provinces, the
aristocratic constitution could not take such deep
that long before our times, many popular reactio
attempts to expel or essentially to alter it, actually
In Germany and in Austria lies the chief seat o
Germanic nobility, and according to the spirit that
it, will its strength grow or decline. A nobility t
not national, that sought only to be the prop of th
and not to be also the chief strength and the flow
nation, would thereby proclaim its own defective
could only be animated by an utterly degenerate spi

The destructive poison that in our age is slowly c
states and peoples as well as individuals, is not merel
selfishness, and insensibility, it is a positive evil,—
spirit of falsehood—that not only in the writin
sophists, and in their false enlightenment, but also
life, in the dealings and conduct of individuals
plague and destruction around. This spirit of
truth only, the truth full and entire, can subdue.
are led by the earnestness of intrepid conviction, an
higher knowledge which is founded on God, and bef
all the vain fanaticism of reason disappears.

THE END.

ÆSAR AND ALEXANDER;

AN HISTORICAL COMPARISON, 1796 *

Julius Cæsar, in the capacity of a quæstor, came to
further Spain, and beheld there, not far from the

idea of the beautiful is the ruling principle and the divinely
h in the arts and life of the Greek people, and forms the cen-
ng point of all Hellenic civilization, so in like manner it is the
great, which defines everything in the Roman national contest
acy as likewise in the historical development of the Roman
This idea everywhere dominant gives this tone, though in
shape, to every period of Rome's history. The great, indeed,
re to nature than to art, and it is easy to observe that the
ven in that department of the artificially beautiful in which
the most successful, namely in architecture, carried over this
nore into the naturally great. Greatness of character also
more upon the force of nature than on the inner sense and life
mind, when such greatness, as was the case with the Romans,
proceed from a mental disposition, that only seeks what is
maintains itself and martially opens a passage for itself with
firmness in the struggle of rude unnurtured reality. Now,
omans by their complete and free development of such a great
ce, as also by their pre-eminent clearness of understanding,
precisely the same line with the Greeks, though, it is true,
arated from them; because that idea of the beautiful, that
ise of the artist, in point of fact was never born in the Roman
re has hence been always a peculiar historical charm to compare
ion with the other, or to select congenial characters from both
ison. The highest summit of such parallels is formed unques-
the two great conquerors, to the analysis of whose characters
s devoted; for their historical influence has been, beyond all
oled them, the most comprehensive and of the most lasting
n to the most recent times. Each of them, too, Cæsar as well
er, marks the decisive epoch of a universal revolution in man-
, and mode of thinking, of a totally changed state of things for
ns. The author, at the time when he endeavoured to do justice
ect, was prompted by a proper appreciation of its importance;
hen still young, he claims indulgence for any youthful embar-
the style or mode of discussing the theme, this being his first
the kind.

temple of Hercules, the statue of Alexander the
sighed deeply; he felt a sickening disgust, as it w
own torpor, and that he had, as yet, achieved no o
act, at an age when Alexander had already su
world. He immediately solicited leave of absenc
might seize in Rome the first opportunity presen
for greater undertakings. Soothsayers found in
of the ensuing night the signs of future undivid
over the earth; any eye not purblind could
wishes. With this sigh, with this return to Ro
tirely new period begins in the life of Cæsar, and
to the passage of the Rubicon.

It was Cæsar himself, therefore, who placed him
side of Alexander; and what was more natural
they should have been since often compared togeth

"For sublimity of conception, rapidity in
endurance in danger," says the precious Velleius (
the true Cæsar already begins to merge into the D
of the later Romans), "Cæsar, sprung from the
of the Iuli, was the first of his countrymen, so
beauty, talent, and prodigal liberality. His gre
passed nature and the belief of mankind; but
resembled that of the great Alexander, when the
sober and not in a passion." Plutarch also has
this mighty pair among his parallel lives; but hap
in this instance, he has spared us the comparison i

Those who are fond of such details may inden
selves in Appian, who compares the two co
the world by a tedious long string of similari
quite superficial or wholly accidental; such as
torical sophist could so ornamentally describe, and
fully explain. Plutarch himself would hardly hav
him. By his fondness, indeed, for snapping up e
likeness or contrast, such a host of comparisons
thoroughly disgusted a Plutarch. Thus he re
without astonishment, among other things, tha
bravest, but craftiest commanders, Philip, Antig
nibal, and Sertorius, were all of them blind of on
really ought not to be surprised, if the thought h
to him of bequeathing to us a parallel history o
one-eyed heroes.

amine thoroughly the peculiar nature of a great man,
ch rather incumbent upon us to consider him for
alone, in his connection with what is around him,
n sphere and age; to confine our view to him, nor
o be diverted, at least for the time, by any secondary
It is all well and good, if we wish to admire upon
e, but if we desire to appreciate accurately the in-
erit or demerit of a hero, it is then very advanta-
throw also into the other scale of the balance some
ounterpoise. In that case we must not attempt to
gether the productions of different ages. Thus we
ever compare the heroes of ancient with those of
history, since we only incur the danger of losing
he essential, if we snap at a vain shadow of resem-
On deeper investigation, we are sure to light upon
differences, which render all comparison impossible;
ws, limits, relations, of ancient and modern civiliza-
widely diverge, that we may regard ancient and
istory as two independent worlds, even should they
each other. Real merit is everywhere the same,
tandard for estimating it in the ancients and moderns
tirely different. Not so with the comparisons be-
e Greeks and Romans: these are citizens of one
ame world, and the comparison of individuals from
em places in a clearer light the general character of
ancient nations, whom a common and entire civi-
divided so unequally. Hence, also, many of Plu-
arallels are so fortunate and instructively amusing.
and Alexander, a mighty pair; the two mightiest
e same time worthiest rulers in all antiquity! Both
shed so much, such an immensity, that we should
write books upon them, if we wished to portray
at was most remarkable. The proper records for
history belong in themselves to the most accom-
writings of antiquity; here is pure unadulterated
we have not here to part it first from the dross.
other hand, the principal sources for the history of
er flow so turbid, the traces nearly obliterated at the
so scattered, and often so imperceptible, that the
of the investigator is by this very circumstance
If we would not here simply repeat what has been

already so often said, we must either be discursi
extreme, or very concise. I have preferred bre
shall only observe the most important features. I
only a judgment with examples, not a history.

* * * * *

"Cæsar," said Cato, "has alone amongst all p
overthrow the state with sober deliberation."
perhaps the only one of his time who saw through
enemy with the same sober reflection. Even as
Cæsar had this clear-headed penetration, nor was
dazzled by the most glittering appearance. He ha
be in Asia when he heard of Sylla's death, and he
back with all speed to Rome, building his hopes on
schism created by Lepidus. Although enticed
conditions, he nevertheless formed no connection w
dus, partly because he did not trust to the skil
person, partly because he did not find the occasion s
able as he had expected. During the maturity of
hood he had learned to wait cautiously both for t
tunity and the moment, then to seize it rapidly and
to use it also completely, and in this he was un
He fought his battles not merely after a plan, but a
quite unprepared, whenever a favourable opportu
denly presented itself, often in spite of fatigue and
for the purpose of taking his enemy more unawar
doubtful whether he was bolder or more prudent.
fitting moment he dared what was most desperat
never prodigally wasted his valour. He reserv
those cases where his men required such excitemen
would send away the horses, his own first, to dep
himself of the means of flight. Then his examp
effective from its very rarity, and especially the eq
danger, did wonders. The most appalling dang
robbed him of his presence of mind, unexampled
success never made him heedless and over-confiden
On the contrary, he gained his most brilliant victo
cisely when all believed him inevitably lost; the o
conquered, the more reserved he was on coming to a
In short, not a single instance will be found of hi
neglected the right moment, or only partially profit
or of being found unprepared and irresolute when
ment arrived. This was so natural to him, that the

eemed strange to him. When he was worsted at
m and not pursued, he said, "Pompey knows not
quer." He never beat the enemy without at the
storming his camp; he never gave those that had
me to rally. It is very remarkable, how can-
en recognizes the wondrous effect of the moment,
ss of fickle fortune. This modesty has a peculiar
he mouth of a hero who relates everything in
as successful, by great exertion or by any deep stra-
such evident delight, and with the expression of
rfulness. He had accomplished so much by his
tanding and force alone, that he had no need to
er share to Fortune, who, by the favour she showed
ned an old Roman adage.*
ng the then universal debauchery of the Roman
Cæsar's sensuality in other respects, it is not
t that he even, in the literal sense, was so
and sober; his very enemies could not deny that
ssively moderate in the use of wine. It is also
tant, that he himself laid a certain value on this
ess, which in itself is nothing peculiarly rare, for
ctive against Cato he inveighs against him for
ong other things, got drunk from the Socratic
the old Catonic fashion.† I should not like to
ne, as perhaps Augustus did, feared lest he should
pen-hearted and communicative. This species of
n was alien to him; he knew quite as little of
name. He is in this respect without parallel; a
queror, who was frank and devoid of all distrust-
nsion. When conspiracies and nocturnal meetings
ered, he struck no blow beyond showing, by an
hey were known to him. So void of apprehen-
dless was his life, that after his death there were
could believe he had intentionally not avoided
of conspirators, from over satiety of life; he was
keen-sighted through fear. When perpetual dic-
Roman republic, the deified companion‡ of the
s, in the midst of his triumphs, he never lost the

* Fortes fortuna juvat.
† Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.
‡ Quirini contubernalis.

power of judging men with his wonted perspicaci
I be so foolish," he said, "to doubt still how
hated, when Marcus Cicero has to wait so long
chamber till I am at leisure to speak with him?
that if any one is little sensitive, he is that on
doubt not that he hates me from the bottom o
After Brutus had declaimed with great fire and
Deiotarus, he said, "Much depends on what
wants; but whatever he wants, he is earnest i
What is related about his foreboding concerni
phetic leanness of Cassius is well known.

Still more does the mode of his death evince a
exampled presence of mind. "This is force," h
when he was first seized, and "Cursed Casca, w
at?" and then rapidly wounded Cassius. As so
as he saw the drawn daggers pointed at him fr
he veiled his head with the toga, drawing down
at the same instant with his left hand, that he m
decorum. The chaste modesty of a dying Po
not be attributed to the grey-haired imperato
was less akin to him than such superfluous se
had become a second nature with him not to be
single instant; as soon, therefore, as defence w
devoted the little time and strength still left him
decency, for which too during his whole life h
displayed an almost excessive care. This he
any desire to please or any peculiar love for t
but because he loved, whether in the greates
things, the most exact propriety for its own
hating everything clumsy and deformed. Eve
rator he wrote a grammatical work, that wa
quoted long after his death; for as he had muc
to speak, it was impossible for him also here as i
to stop short of perfection. For this reason
endure the pernicious confusion of times and se
regulated the calendar. His own bald head, so
was for the same reason odious to himself
honour did he seize with greater avidity, than t
always wearing a laurel crown.

It was the perfect harmony of his powerful
and of his equally great vigorous activity, fr

d abstemiousness arose, giving him so decided a over his antagonists. Cato alone resembled him in hen he was as an enemy no match for him, because ly use lawful means. This sobriety is properly the ic quality of Cæsar, distinguishing him greatly from who, though he at first loved wine as a zest to ty, soon did so to extravagant excess for its own vas seldom sober, and even then rash and furious n man. The Greek conqueror was wont to cut, not nots as he did the Gordian, and often would force what was impossible in wild opposition to fortune. on is hence answered, spontaneously indeed, which have often started, which of the two would have ctor, the sober or the drunken hero, if they had equal means against each other for supremacy. no doubt that Cæsar had also passions besides h carried him to his goal ; ignoble passions, which easily turned aside or totally confused his grand career. He had the talent, however, of subduing during his manhood all his powers really obeyed infallibly his imperatorial understanding. In his ould burst into a tempest of rage. He defended a nst King Hiempsal so zealously as to seize, in the debate, Juba, the king's son, by the beard, for latter, during the civil war, as one of the warmest est of Pompey's partisans, gave him a great deal His youthful adventure with the pirates throws t on his strong natural proneness to revenge. On to Rhodes, where he intended devoting his leisure ius, the most celebrated teacher of rhetoric in that as captured by them and compelled, to his great to pass forty days with them, attended only by a and two servants, for his other attendants and had immediately despatched as soon as he was etch money for his ransom. When the money was he was set on shore, he contrived, notwithstanding time had no official rank and power, to collect a he following night, sailed to the spot where the re, put to flight a part of their fleet, took some made a great many of the crew prisoners, where- returned to his friends rejoicing at the noc-

turnal victory. He gave the prisoners imme
custody and hastened to Asia to the proconsul
the purpose of obtaining full powers to puni
soners as he might think proper. Upon the re
latter, who said he should sell the prisoners, Cæ
back with incredible speed to the coast, before the
proconsul could arrive there, and caused all that
to be crucified, exactly as he had often threatened
a revenge deeply meditated, but petty, and not e
for when he shortly after was obliged to hasten b
he was exposed to the greatest danger, because
at that time completely ruled the sea. It make
as we read, that it was accounted a great act of
his part to have the prisoners put to death befo
them, for he had sworn an oath to do that. Cle
it must be confessed, for a young Roman and
queror of the world to boot! Such simplicity i
his enemies and gratifying his vengeance certai
certain great manner in it, that distinguishes
the crowd of common tyrants, whose refined cru
betrays childish passionateness and disgusting
soul. The former will also be capable, as soon
resolves upon it, of utterly renouncing all desire
and of obliterating his hatred to the minutest
placable Cæsar really did when he arrived at a
His so-lauded clemency in the civil war and d
was a deeply meditated plan; the power with w
ried it out, the perseverance with which he ren
fast and true to it, cannot in good sooth b
admired. We must not, however, attribute this
heart, nor is any feeling whatever of respect
right as existing in him to be thought of. I co
no deep faith in the natural clemency of a re
queror, of whom it has been so expressly vau
far surpassed the most renowned shedders of b
it did not even cost him a resolution to exec
dreadful cruelty itself, provided it were only exp
this manner," he writes to his confidential friend
if possible, attempt to gain the good will of all,
lasting victory; for the others, by their cruel
escape universal hatred nor maintain the victo

ylla alone, whom I do not intend to imitate. This an entirely new mode of conquering—our arming s with mildness and clemency. How this may be much occurs to me now, and much more may be by reflection."—"Not from resolve or propensity is ot cruel," said the candid Curio; "but because he clemency as the means of gaining the people: had the love of the people, he would be cruel." Cæsar as very easily appeased, as is proved by his inviting r Catullus on the very day he gave him satisfaction le some atonement, although the latter himself had that he had branded Cæsar for ever, by some little ill extant, which are very offensive but perhaps very might have been so placable solely because he, in fact, neither esteemed nor loved any one. At all re must not suppose that no feeling of revenge lay at m of his heart. His own account betrays how fain l have taken vengeance on the inhabitants of Mar- ho were zealous partisans of Pompey and had opposed extreme stubbornness. Cicero alludes to his peculiar them as a thing universally known. He pretends d these Massilians, a highly civilized people of escent, great lovers of freedom, only from respect ne and antiquity of this republic, like as Alexander be held sacred, at the sacking of Thebes, the house l poet who had been dead nearly a century. We ntirely give credit to this assertion of Cæsar's. He it is true, that reverential feeling for classical anti- r genuine civilization in arts and sciences, as many prove; but he could not, if he wished to keep true reat plan of prudent and politic clemency, act so niously with so important a city, that enjoyed such vileges, and was so deeply compromised with the of the capital, as with an insignificant Thessalian hich he destroyed without any scruples, simply it had chosen what appeared to it the safest and Let it not be deemed surprising, that I should reat a value on a feeling, which is now perverted right use and laid on as a paint to colour sloth, ds it more convenient and easy to bewail voluptu- wreck of the past than to struggle bravely onwards

with braced-up energy on the straight way. As an
moderns, the inward conviction of an imperishable h
perfectibility, both of the individual man and th
human race, is the last anchor of sinking virtue, s
the more modern of the ancients, when humanity was
irrecoverably lost, and continued to sink deeper an
still, the reverence for classic antiquity was at that
sole foundation of real greatness, as now the reve
science and enlightened knowledge.

He indeed despised in the zenith of his power all h
one only excepted, far too deeply to be able to hate th
cordially. The stern speeches, nevertheless, with
accompanied his acts of mercy, were intended not n
inspire a wholesome terror, but they were at the sam
demonstration of his disposition by no means natura
His own representations confirm this most amply
hateful and despicable does he not make all his enem
that too not without triumphant arrogance, if we
Pompey, to whom he is remarkably indulgent. Aga
especially, he gives himself up to such gibes and inve
almost to forget the dignity of history. Generally s
it must be, for those who extol as an inimitable histo
formance that work in which Cato and Pompey's p
lampooned no less that Socrates and his disciples in th
of Aristophanes,—it must be, I say, not yet clear to th
an historical performance is. It is true, Cæsar w
Commentaries in the same spirit with which he conqu
mere material for history cannot be purer, and in thi
they may be considered as unique in their way; th
energy of the most vivid description in such terse bre
easy clearness has quite a peculiar charm. So e
simple a style of expression would, as Cicero so appos
marks, be only adulterated by the artificial adornm
orator, capable of entirely deterring qualified persons
further working out of that self-same material. To
however, of a perfect historical production, a work so
nated with the spirit of party can lay no claim; to
belong above all both a material and a subject tha
universal and permanent value, as a part and essentia
of human history—conceived, explained, ordered, ap
and represented with that greatness and dignity such

rk out a similar material—a man that should be of a t character both as a moralist and a citizen, at the e a deep historical thinker, nor withal devoid of feeling. The first condition for a history of the civil war would be taking a higher morally historical stand on, to compare and estimate the Optimates arians with that sublime, just impartiality of a es, who passes sentence on Athenians and Spartans l truth and strictness; this should be done too on iple of historical just even-handedness to all parties. Commentaries, on the contrary, are, as Asinius Pollio ly declared, not even thoroughly sincere, nor drawn nposed with the requisite nicety and accuracy. The delicacy with which Pompey is treated in them is, very natural. Whoever supposes that the author n him the former friend and relative, the meritorious r the great man, he knows Cæsar not. Cæsar spared ly the triumvir, as in Sylla even the dictator; for on he caused the statues of both, when pulled down ob, to be raised again. Thus acted in the spirit of nd magnanimity towards each other, but which cost hing, the Macedonian princes, Ptolemy and Deme- latter a man of a cruel and depraved character, but culture and the most exquisite taste for art, while s of their adherents perished in war for the further- heir ambition! They were but rivals; the proper of both were the nations they tyrannized over and l.

umber of women with whom Cæsar had relations great sensuality; assuredly it was his understanding t restrained his passions whenever this was the case, any moral sentiment. Nicomedes attaches to him even e imputation of indulging in intercourse with his own is notorious intimacy with that Bithynian king was a or the dithyrambs of many an iambic poet, and a topic for all the orators of Pompey's party. Bibulus, ld not forget that people had called in jest their joint p only the consulship of Julius and Cæsar, called him he Bithynian queen." "First he loved a king as he a kingdom." Cicero answered him in the senate was defending the cause of Nysa, the daughter of

Nicomedes, and had mentioned the benefits of th
himself, "Do not speak of that, I pray thee; we k
too well what he gave to thee, and what thou gaves
Curio, the father, went so far as to reproach him wi
the husband of all the women and the wife of all
Even when master of the Roman world, when he was
ascending the Capitol in all the refulgent pomp an
victory, with torches around him, and the torchbea
by forty elephants on the right and on the left, h
minded most emphatically of that sorry business ab
medes by his own companions in arms. The soldie
moment of excess and license jested also in their fre
triumph about his lavish expenditure of borrowed m
bad dinner he gave them at Dyrrhachium, nay, upo
head. The remarkable fragments of these triump
satirical songs on Cæsar fully prove that the milit
of the Roman veterans were as trenchant as their sw
rude pleasantry, a bold love of banter, were origina
and peculiarities of the Roman character in gene
nothing was more unroman than that surly stiffness
are accustomed to introduce into the picture we sket
ourselves of the Roman character, consulting as we
period, when every free movement was suppressed, or
too much dignity of expression to the authors. The
freedom of military jests at triumphs was a primit
custom of the Romans, cited by Dionysius as a proo
Grecian descent. There is, too, something Attic i
then at Athens this festive freedom was the right
free citizen, whereas at Rome it was allowed to th
solely in his capacity as such.

There is something very important in this freed
tioned by custom, of unrestrained joke and merry q
jibe; it is a very peculiarly characteristic trait, tha
and portrays the free education and the classic sen
ancients; and indeed we often get better acquainted wi
nations and æras, as we do with individuals, by mean
games than their seriousness, when they are acting
particular effect and with some concomitant motive.

Among the many Roman women, of whom Cæsar h
knowledge, were a wife of Crassus and one of Pompe
remarkable, that the crafty and subtle man, while he

sole disposition of the money of the one and employed
r and rank of the other, dared to invade the house
ial bed of both. It would almost lead us to suppose
made his love intrigues subservient to his ambiti-
political views, as Augustus was subsequently accused
that he might more securely rule the men or learn
rets. His marriages at least had evidently a political
As the marriage tie in the tranquil periods of the
blic was the firmest bond of social order, so in the
the civil wars the Roman matrons, from the great faci-
vorce, passed as an important connecting link between
opposed parties, quickly from one hand to another,
red the family, according to the change of political
and views.

, however, had not always such ambitious secondary
his amorous pursuits; this is beyond doubt, for he
nself up to them when the doing so was likely to
his chief object. "He also loved queens," says
s; "amongst others the African Eunoë, Bogud's
ring her husband enormous wealth; but above all
a, with whom he often revelled at the banquet the
ght long, whom he even sent for to Rome, on whom
red honours and presents, and allowed her to name the
ad borne him after his own name." Here it is clear
sion controlled him, for he injures himself uncom-
ith the proud Romans, who could not understand that
shed foreign queen could be destined for aught save to
re completely a triumphal procession in all-conquer-
e, and then to die, or to be reduced to some humble
from motives of pity, like the young and beautiful
Cleopatra's sister, with whom Cæsar graced his
ian triumph.

ow does this love for the queens, and which was so
to his cause in Rome, more especially his almost
ojourn with Cleopatra, how does all this agree with
ect intellectual command he otherwise possessed over
ons? Only during the period when his being was
l in its full strength was the inward agreement of all
rs so thoroughly preserved in the greatest unity of
. Afterwards we find frequent traces of decadence,
re quite as frequently the marks of immaturity,

several of which have been already alluded to. N
in the first period of his life, properly so called, wh
mences with the stubborn refusal on his part to put
wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, at the comma
bloodthirsty tyrant, and with Sylla's judgment, t
than one Marius lay hid in this young man; but ev
second period, from his leaving Spain to his cro
Rubicon. As all organic forces, when they are not
gradually develop themselves from their germ up to
and as soon as the highest point has been attained, re-
their dissolution, so do we find this to be the ca
ancient men, whether as individuals or collective
since the civilization of those men was merely a pure
tion of nature deranged by no art. It astonishes
sight to perceive with what confidence the ancients a
determine the periods, especially the flourishing peri
artist and thinker, or of a hero; but since the mos
certainty in the grades and modes of culture is an
property of the free natural development, it really
merely a sound view, a sure look, to be aware of t
sence. He who has fostered and rendered acute
sense for all that is classic by deep research, ma
enter into this way of judging, this view of life,
those places, where the traces of the ancients leave hi

In Cæsar's life the periods are so conspicuo
we cannot avoid perceiving them. Who does n
his remarkable hesitation at the Rubicon, and his
cision? A great epoch, not merely in his outward c
but also in his inward character! From this crossi
Rubicon, whence he could at length march right on
further concealment to his great object, braced as
the highest pitch of daring, by the most threatening
and formidable obstacles, till the Pharsalian battle
this period all his powers were in their greatest acti
most perfect harmony. During all this time we sha
able to discover in him the least trace of relaxation
of precaution; he even knew how to keep in due s
his natural arrogance and pride. During this period
are multiplied one after the other of a dissimulatio
of Themistocles himself, not like that unsuccessful im
the Athenian by Pompey, who endeavoured to excus

ll-judged flight, with the great example of that old aster * of political craft, whilst he, who in truth only o rule, fled merely because he hoped he might return a, and could not even keep to himself this vain and e. Whether Cæsar displayed more military talent at Alesia would be difficult to decide; but that he himself still more as a great man and character at d Dyrrhachium is clear from his own relation. Now conceived also his great plan of a dictatorship and dominion, that should be altogether merciful and in total contrast to the nature and custom of all the ivil wars. The happiest discoveries have so natural at every one thinks after they have been made, he ve done so too. Let us, however, only reflect, that verthrew all the existing republican forms without test reservation; that he did not even make a putting new forms in their stead, by virtue of being ctator in the old Roman but obsolete sense of the purifying the state, of healing its wounds, of wish- und a constitution; that he was neither more nor elled to rob and plunder on a grand scale, in order the war-expenses; that he was environed with cri- d bankrupt spendthrifts, who dared demand every- l incessantly urged him on to murder. He was com- intrust the republic and the provinces to men, not whom, as Cicero says, perhaps with some slight ion, could have managed his own paternal estate for hs. To this must be added, that one single rash ld have infallibly drawn after it countless others. rio judged, and he had most assuredly closely ob- e course of events, when he said, that the putting of nate Metellus to death, which the victor was cer- ongly incited to do, would have inevitably occasioned odshed. Moreover, the way was quite paved out, criptions and executions had become so common an

oman aristocracy of that time were fond of comparing themselves ssic statesmen of the civilized political bygone ages; for such ly considered the most celebrated Grecian statesmen, and their political character exactly as critics do in any art. Thus knew so skilfully how to hit off the flattery most certain Cicero compared him in his Anticato with Theramenes and

occurrence with the Roman parties in their embitte
Pompey himself made no secret of his intention to u
after Sylla's fashion; and even the Optimates exp
thing else, than what might naturally be expected
apathetic severity of a warrior grown grey amid
blood, and from the fury of internecine war,—that i
universal massacre and pillage. The ingratitud
Pompey's adherents, who were already pardon
necessarily excite the vengeance and passions of C
we weigh all these circumstances, we cannot refuse
est admiration to the force of self-control, to the l
ness, with which Cæsar carried out his great plan.
to the world, for the first time, the unexampled ins
tyranny that appeared almost beneficial in the e
republican opponents, since Cicero himself, afte
death, admits, against his will as it were, the cor
could hardly have ventured to refuse accepting such

The moment when Cæsar reached the culminati
his character, and now began to sink again, he l
fixed with wonderful precision. In his Commenta
wise so free from all idle considerations, which
and quickly to the point, and only give the conde
ment as a fact, he pauses once, and once only, a
tomary popular superstition, with which Grecian
phers and rhetoricians, as well as Roman annalis
often surcharged their talented historical representa
spirit of the priests and augurs. He is never we
giving in full detail the prodigies and portents con
the victory at Pharsalia. It is as if he wished
violent shock passed through all nature, when Cæ
master of the Roman world." In reality, too, th
through himself what he transposed to nature. I
afterwards he says:—"Cæsar, confiding in the
deeds, had not hesitated to proceed with a sm
Alexandria, and believed himself now to be s
place." "In Alexandria," he continues, "the Et
compelled him to remain; for these blow directly
those who wish to sail from Alexandria." We
Egyptian charm these Etesian winds mean. It
unimportant, the fact, that he now thought prop
writing his history himself; for as for leisure, h

ow as previously. His poor successor, in the enu-
of his deeds, tells us shortly after, "that Cleopatra
under Cæsar's protection." At length he tears
way from her; but his extravagant joy at the un-
pidity* of a victory, by no means remarkable for
Pharnaces, is already a proof of that irremediable
which we need not here trace out any further.
aracter of a classic statesman and ancient hero must
by what it was in the period of its perfect de-
of force. Cæsar's most peculiar, and his distin-
quality, is, according to this rule, the inward conse-
his whole being; the perfect agreement, namely,
lete imperatorial energy, and a complete imperatorial
ding. What we have to understand by imperatorial
already defined so happily by the Roman name,
rdly requires a long explanation; the energy, the
t merely to conquer men externally, but also to
ıd dominate their minds internally. That Cæsar
mutinous legion with a word, that he could so
Lucullus with mere threats, that the latter fell at
elongs quite as much to it, as his often rallying
army, on the point of giving way, by rushing
e fugitives, seizing them individually by the throat,
ng them round to the enemy, although the panic
s so great, that one eagle-bearer threatened to
n, another left the standard in his hand.
understanding also was thoroughly imperatorial,
too in the highest degree; it was precisely such as
hero requires for acting and conquering, but with-
superfluous additament whatever. His Comment-
ıss even (in this imperatorial view and power) the
istorical master-pieces of the Greeks, as likewise
oman greatness stamped on every page of them;
o we see that urbanity, that intellectual kind of a
ial feeling so peculiar to the Romans, and which
litary in Cæsar's family. This may also be re-
his speeches, which he delivered with a clear
fiery action; in which, too, the spectators admired
force, acuteness, and rapidity of the orator, but
a certain admirable care in the language he em-

* Veni, vidi, vici.

ployed, his perfect correctness of expression so wel
the subject. Cæsar, indeed, as far as we can ju
works, letters, or speeches extant, is never short i
at the expense of clearness. Still he preferred
did in everything else during his life and caree
the shortest way, direct to the object, so that th
death also seemed to him to be the best. The whol
of his oratory is a confirmation of his endeavour
everything that which acted in the quickest ma
greatest number of people. That which gives
virtue to his Commentaries is not a rhetorical ta
bling the verve and power of the poet. There
them, not a thought of a beautifully connected and
grand arrangement of the whole, which by the b
in no Roman history, Sallust excepted. In this
Commentaries appear, even in comparison with
Anabasis, quite uncouth and rude of art.

Cæsar had also the weakness to make verses.
not more successful than those of the grave Bru
learned Cicero; in short, they may be almost
We cannot read, without a smile, how carefully
quires of his brother for a more complete opinio
respecting a poetical attempt of his own, and th
provisional judgment on art, which, by its very
and by its talented mode of expression, sound
more flattering, and has a comic touch of co
about it. Cæsar, in general, had no proper fe
really beautiful. His love for the works of the old
sculptors, for splendid and valuable things of e
tion in art, is not in contradiction with that, and
naturally from many other characteristic qua
being. He felt, beyond all doubt, a love, a pas
which was perfect of its kind, no matter wha
veneration, too, for classic antiquity, which at th
universal among the higher classes. To this w
Roman love of pure, simple splendour, and last
ness, so often peculiar to great rulers and co
valuables of mere arbitrary worth. Thus he
large pearls, the weight of which he sometimes a
weighing or poising them in his hands.

Perfect also, with the same consistency and

e being, were the two essential ingredients or com-
f it,—his practical force and his great understanding.
dity and the intensive strength of his activity were
ter than their immense extent and sphere, their
ne and indomitable perseverance. His judgment
rring, his understanding firm, his mind inventive.
n of this inward consistency and harmony of all his
al faculties and practical qualities bent on one object,
ot be easy to find in modern history a hero, who,
pect to them, can be placed on a par with Cæsar.
uliar advantage of the moderns does not so much
n the extraordinary greatness of individual mental
al forces, as in the capability of giving them all a
irection and application. Otherwise, you will find
y often carried to a great height, both in the indi-
stance, and the totality of modern civilization and
rapidity and perseverance in life and action, strength
cter and scope, comprehensive greatness of mind, as
the most part memory and inventiveness, or mind
aginativeness and judgment, only at the expense and
letriment of one or the other of these qualities. To
acters of antiquity, on the contrary, that harmony of
powers and of the whole life, directed to a given
nd to a definite, even if not so intellectual an object,
recisely the ancient greatness, and the firm secure
life, which imparts to them the semblance of a higher
n, that is, of a decided, and consequentially perfect
force. Besides this, similar difficulties, and such an
r the development of great political characters, and
lay of heroic greatness, hardly ever occurred again
an extent since the fall of the Roman republic. The
quired for exalting and enlarging an hereditary mo-
and that force required for monarchically governing
lic, the greatest indeed that ever was, by republican
can bear no comparison. It can only serve us as a
ait to conceive the activity and rapidity of his mind,
e recall to mind that he could dictate, at one and the
ne, two letters when on horseback, or even four, aye,
his mind was wholly disengaged, seven even. It
our utmost astonishment, when we take into considera-
at among them, there were letters of such important

contents, often too perchance of such exquisite finish, to Cicero still extant, and which bears on it all t of Cæsar. He must, indeed, so as to accomplis pose, have seen through, and comprehended a fluential men of the whole vast Roman world, wh serviceable or prejudicial to his interests; he must a watchful eye over them, and guided them accor views. Now, how he actually accomplished this, some measure conceive, and learn to admire, from t he stood in to Cicero and Pompey, which we kn most circumstantially.

In rapidity and fire he was equal to Alexander perseverance and in the extent of his exploits, surpassed him; neither had a Philip broken the paved the way for him. No Roman hero eithe after had to overcome such difficulties. The old had an easier task, because they, though equally a their hearts, were yet republicans in form; and Cæsar's successors, did but pursue a route alr smooth and practicable for them.

Were there a standard for sovereign greatn would for force and energy mark the very pin Would we contrast and compare with him merely spect the heroic characters of modern times and recent period, who in a similar manner have wis the same path of imperatorial supremacy and then would Cæsar especially carry off the palm f sistency and happy perfection of his inward man, great steadfastness of understanding resulting ther must here accurately comprehend and carefully k the ideas; for the perfect character is wholly di only in degree, but even in its nature from that o merely extraordinary and great in the measure We remark in several great conquerors of more m from Attila downwards, something mournful in t tion, an inward discontent, which proceeds from harmony and concord with itself, and which occasi birth to even a shade of sullenness. Cæsar, on t was content with himself; nay, of a decidedly j sition, such as are all men that are perfect an keeping with themselves. The enjoyment of this

ems to be the highest vouchsafed to man, in so far
alone can do it. Compared with this, the precious
t of the freshest and most verdant youth throughout
being, and in its rare purity, is but slight. Per-
owever, this choicest favour and gift of nature, is
lse, save the fortunate co-operation, the complete
several great forces, from out of which conjunction
iew qualities and perfections proceed, which no
nowever intense and ample, of one single force can
The wonderful might, that lies in the inward and
mmunity and harmony of all the moral and intel-
wers, is conspicuous in the history of the ancient
t depended entirely on this said community. With
this fortunate perfection, Cæsar may be compared to
vho stands in history great as a statesman, general,
d chief of a sinking republic, who like him stands
ndary-line between a glorious past and a new state
for the lesser sphere of Athens, such as Cæsar stood
re extensive Roman world.
it would seem, has her favourites; and yet the
a certain measure is preserved or restored by the
, that perfection is to be almost always acquired
nanifold limitations. Thus, for instance, a total
e finer and moral feelings of delicacy was an essen-
e, I could almost say an element, in Cæsar's character
iar greatness. A Cæsar, that should have had
ne movements of noble-mindedness or of conscien-
in short such an ordinary half-virtue, would have
nly a most imperfect, but perhaps even, despite the
of individual, though disjointed powers, a very
ak being. Weakness is often not an original defect,
nsequence of a false ratio between great powers,
ally obstruct and neutralize one another.
erfect conqueror, Alexander, with all his passionate-
ch it is true, when coupled with boundless power,
eally often does, have worse results, as the sober
y of a perfectly prudent understanding, was much
and humane a hero. The easy inflammability of
ns themselves was of a very noble description, like
Homer's Achilles. It betrays so deep a sensibility,
such a lively sense, such a vital elasticity of strong

and noble inclinations, that Cæsar's nature when with his, appears only a rude Roman one, quite bleak. Only we must excuse Alexander's expr revealing, with wonted despotic violence, feelings a deep source of genuine morality in his inward be must not reckon as a merit Cæsar's more citizen-li his, for the most part still republican world, since character, views, and sentiments, was more a tyra former. That which Alexander did against guil minated Macedonians, we must at least judge by th of strict martial law, which always acts more pro among the mildest nations than the civil penal code der's apparent rashness, too, was often in conformi object to be attained, and on the whole founded on co a consequence and a duty of his position. It was here to overcome systematically according to art, a foe by greater intelligence, but to overthrow a supe blind force; in which the fame of his incredib achieved almost more than his feats themselves conqueror's character shall we find so many vi ments and beautiful traits. The unavoidable de Thebes cost him an arduous inward struggle. dence he confided his life into the hands of Philip zealously devoted to him and tried, but deeply c He believed in fidelity, and was capable of the sub intimate friendship. He loved Hephæstion so ferve the flower of his age, in the plenitude of power, an leading to deification,—in short, in possession of al that fortune can give or take, he remained inco his loss.

It might be said, perhaps, in compliance with judices, that to believe in virtue is folly in a co that true friendship is a useless episode in his life. cisely in this is it shown, that Alexander was ordinary conquerors. The sober Cæsar was, o hand, most certainly quite exempt from such glo nesses. But this exemption from noble and mora shared with Cæsar by other great conquerors rulers. A limitation quite different, that of his po of the civilization which he himself had, and whi have given as compensation to the lacerated wo

e mode and the means, how and through which he
ed to promote and diffuse this civilization, is more
y peculiar to him.

ne Pharsalian victory, he believed that all was now
ned, and yet properly the most difficult part of his
n then. For the power of the Pompeïans, or rather
republican forms, had struck incredibly deep roots
t the whole Roman world; after all the shocks they
ned, they were still very firm and strong. It may
onceived that the constitution of the Romans, who
their roads and aqueducts as if for eternity, was not
founded and not so easily overthrown. What was
ral than that the vast tottering edifice should fall
ead of the heedless victor who had given it the last
f his fall were necessary, if his project must needs
l, the blame lay in an inward contradiction of the
h at its completion could only arise from an original
is genius.

the short period of his undisturbed autocracy, Cæsar
l much that was great, and aimed at much still
He commenced that alone not, which Rome required
hings, and which alone could yield security to him-
stitution raised on deep foundations and an organic
of the state, even if it had been more monarchical in
ce, nevertheless conciliatory and wisely mediating
e old forms of the republic and the new period and
is single city, that had acquired the sovereignty of

Cicero very emphatically reminds him, in his
ration for Marcellus, of this duty, with a dignity
dependence that would deserve our respect, had not
debased it by the hypocritical assurance of vows for
fety, when he in fact was panting for the victor's
naps even knew of the dawning conspiracy. That
e salutary truth with tact to the agreeable, that he
sar so brilliantly but yet truthfully, this cannot well
l.

esar been able to effect what Cicero, Rome, and
claimed from him, both loud and in silence, he would
ave also desired it. He possessed, however, only
al energy and skill, and that talent which is requi-
ng the head of a party. He did not possess a legis-

lative genius, a mind capable of forming organic i
as a Solon did, or other great founders and re
states. A surprising defect in Cæsar's mind is sh
as it passed beyond the limits of that party contest.
when he stood on the summit of his power, and
turned as conqueror to Rome, in six or seven days
himself so odious to those masses whose cause he p
conduct, that Cicero derived great hopes from it.
rienced the most obstinate resistance, and he ad
that he should have been obliged to leave the
having effected his object. What too did the
even when the war was quite over, not dare to do
precisely by reason of his haughty assumption?
therefore to be looked upon as accidental, that ever
tical should be always touched upon so incidenta
superficially discussed in his almost exclusive
chronicles. At the head of his army, or as the chi
in the political contest and civil war, he had a
power, and was alone great. Not so, however, as
guide of a mighty state in the calm period of pea
insure to himself a lasting rule with order.

When a man has reached the object of all his
and the highest summit of fortune even to satie
gained, we are best enabled to learn thoroughly fr
object the real subjects and the extent of his i
It then often happens, that he who has only
divinely exalted efforts, or boasted loudly of the
stands still; he has now no longer any wishes,
immediate desires are satisfied. The limits of on
tions are a sure standard for his mental power
man can achieve thoroughly, that he desires als
tinues to do. Cæsar had reached the last goal of
and being content, had nothing left to live for,
without the slightest trace of melancholy, wh
denote a still higher aspiration unsatisfied, and,
deemed unattainable, unhoped for.

It was also not chagrin and dejection arising
sources of despondency, it was not any distrust
stancy of his own good fortune, but a pure sat
without desire and without fear, not adverse to
always gay and even unconstrainedly merry;

eling that he had reached the goal. "Unwillingly," ero, "have I heard thy transcendently wise judg- at thou hadst lived long enough for the contentment , and also for glory. Enough, if thou wilt, perhaps e; I will also add, if thou thinkest so, for fame; edly still far too little for the country, and that is important. Therefore cease, I pray thee, this view ng men respecting contempt of death; do not wish ge at our expense. For I am often compelled to eported of thee, that thou art constantly repeating hast no further need of life. I would concede this, ly livedst for thyself, or wert only born for thyself. vever, that thy deeds concern the welfare of all the nd have embraced the whole state, thou art as far completion of the greatest works, that thou hast not shed yet the groundwork of thy plans." Thus great Romans of that time to one another.

Cæsar desired nothing more, he had certainly accom- ll that he could, and for which he possessed the d talents, as well as the aspiration of mind. Or rchance, no alluring goal of a lofty desire of fame, e sinking grandeur of the Roman people? Even t solution to the difficult task of that age ripe for narchical form of government; to introduce gently e old civil forms a sense more in harmony and ith the present mode of ruling, to remove silently whole of the decayed parts from the former vital to repair what was merely damaged, to prop it ve it a new sheathing, a new coating, as it were, so meritorious a work, that the wary dissembling who had the good fortune and the talent to com- has almost found an apotheosis in history itself. new founder of the greatest state, the new modeller st illustrious people, to be this, the inward force and ed Cæsar. To conquer, in the fullest sense of the s he could do; he was able, not merely with the t also by the power of speech and the influence of nection, by superior force and subtlety, to bend down the individual man and men in masses, to fas- l bind them, to guide them according to his views.

Such was his peculiar talent, in which Cæsar, pe
been surpassed by no other statesman or hero.

Modern sophists are much mistaken when they
Cæsar their own favourite error, and attempt, p
confirm it by his example, as if autocracy had onl
means for enabling him to gratify his boundless
and promote the universal weal, after the full mea
immense resources. No, conquering itself, in t
enlarged as well as in the common acceptation of
was his ultimate object. It was one of his favourit
to build a temple of Mars, and of a size such as ha
viously existed, a trait that is important for this
character. It was triumph that he really desired
Hence he could not abstain from triumphing
Roman citizens, contrary to all political prudence
too in a manner that would needs alienate and
all who still thought and felt as Romans.

His mental culture was limited in this way, tha
perfection for its own sake alone in everything, wh
or small, hated everything that was bungling and
he honoured what was classical, not because it was
beautiful, and right, but because it was perfect i
For genuine moral goodness and worth, for artist
or for inward divine truth and justice, he had as
sense, and susceptibility as he had for poetic co
His world and the subjects of his contemplation
agreeable and the useful. It is true he carried out
to an immeasurable extent; hence many of his proje
sublime through the manner and intensity they
ceived or executed in, although their final purport
description, that, strictly defined, it can never
sublime.

The highest that he was capable of achieving for t
ance and diffusion of this material culture, was to re
his path difficulties, from which any other would ha
with dread, and to create in their stead vast mate
was not capable of transmitting even a feeble por
great mind to one of his adherents, like Alexande
at his decease a seminary as it were of heroes, ge
great rulers; he was not able like a Solon or Then
found political institutions or to animate anew tho

to breathe into them the spirit of his own thought. major half of his nature he was a barbarian, for his is childless.

lt a rude or falsely civilized people to a really humane n, that lay not in his sphere. To compel and guide e people that loved freedom to peace (what the with a peculiar expression, term *pacare*), in such a hat it was literally crushed; that it from that time ed patiently beneath the yoke of Rome's iron sway, derstood better than any other. In accordance with , and in this spirit, he acted then in Gaul also in such at some in the senate proposed to deliver him up to y. Gaul was for him, it is true, only a means and ation for other higher objects, a rich gold-mine, a school for his legions.

nder, on the other hand, always embracing the two , that which was opposed, protected his new subjects nuch against the overbearing treatment of his warriors, t the cruelty and covetousness of their own satraps. iental traditions not yet extinct, he is still highly for his humanity. If he is also called the "Robber nat conqueror has ever been called differently by the many? And are the latter then also capable of distinct the unavoidable evils that have always ac- d even the justest war, especially in antiquity, from us and wanton devastations committed for no object? er's war against the Persians was as just as ever has ed. It cannot be denied that his love of conquest with his success and progress; he then seized upon, y, whatever was in his grasp, else he had not been er. He spared Grecian liberty so much, that he even over some who had set themselves up as tyrants to w-citizens.

not suffice him to overcome nations; the highest is ambition was to be the founder of a universal modeller of all nations, and to fill the whole human the Hellenic spirit. In general, the character of ian instinct for conquest, which had already begun powerfully a considerable time before Alexander, before the schemes and plans of Philip, Jason, and , and before the retreat of the ten thousand under

Xenophon, was far more noble than the Roman
The spring that impelled the Asiatic conquerors
for fame and love of splendour; the soul of the Ca
conquests was covetousness and pelf, or advantages
finally of the Scythians, that is, of all who lived an
as nomads, we might say, that they went forth to
only through necessity and the want of adequate s
life, or through the absence of sufficient occupat
Romans strove for boundless might, and honour,
hence the greatness of the Roman empire; for ev
surpassing the mere sensual present, to realize th
lasting posthumous renown, and the glory of on
country, is sublime in the individual; how much mo
the public enthusiasm of an entire people? As eve
force, when its interior development is completed
material rudiments of life have been perfectly for
an instinctive impulse to propagate itself, and for
gener out of itself; so with the Greeks, from tha
when their collective civilization, the universal va
high importance of which they themselves did no
recognize scientifically, though they very definite
had reached its highest point of attainment; from
ment, I repeat, was manifested the instinct of diff
spirit universally, of moulding all nations after t
ideal. From that moment there was universal
fraternity among all the Greeks; everlasting war
the neighbouring barbarians and tyrants was the
wish of the whole people, it was the common-place
all the sophists and political orators, because it was t
lent idea of that period, and of the whole Hellenic r

Alexander made the beginning, or at least had
design of raising the falsely civilized Asiatics t
humane culture. If now the Hellenic mind co
entirely pervade Asia, which continent, at a late
rejected it again utterly, debased as that mind had
as an element foreign to it from the beginning; new
the more general diffusion of a real civilization, the f
of which, Alexander, young as he was, knew how
rapidly and enduringly, was not lost for the develo
humanity, and it evidences in its founder a compr
ness and a power of communicating genuine civili

son with which the action of the Roman conqueror only rude and uncouth. We find this real culture, rise the mind and sense for it, in general, solely among rulers and conquerors, the first and worthiest of Alexander both was and continued to be.

knew how to unite and identify in himself the royal of the Macedonians, the free chief of the system of cian free states, and the Asiatic sovereign of the great empire, in the most perfect manner. Whilst he formed h in the art of war, while he gave to trade an entirely rection, disseminated over Asia Grecian colonial ent forth voyages of discovery, by which the limits of hical science and natural history were immeasurably l, he investigated, as a worthy pupil of Aristotle, in tion with philosophers, the nature of true civilization, aracter of the strange Asiatic races, and the most iate mode of treating them. In grace of deportment mind a second Alcibiades, he adorned the path itself conquests to such an extent with the real Grecian of art and life, with gymnastic games and musical es, that it resembled more a joyous procession of Bac- an a desolating war. That also was especially peculiar what we might aptly term the faculty for giving vitality and creating organically. The power and t, not merely to attach men to himself, but also to em among themselves in a new political creation; to icate and impart to the being thus united and new a life of its own, independent of its creator, and in to propagate his own creative spirit among his adhe- this I repeat was peculiar to him. It is well known ilfully he understood the art of transforming the and manners of the Asiatics and the Greeks, of min- d blending them. His propensity to build cities was carried to excess, and was not free from Greek vanity, e opinion of the Greeks it was finer and more sacred e author of a political being, the founder of a people), than to be victor in the public games. As a host of hers and orators proceeded from the schools of Socrates crates by their plastic master-minds, so was the camp ander a seminary for kings. His successors and scho- re royal personages, both by their energy and mind,

boldness and subtlety, beauty and dignity of form seemed, says an ancient writer, to have been called, one distinct people, but from the whole human ra least of them would have been still worthy of dispu general with Cæsar the prize of victory.

We only reproduce here two more features of Al higher moral character. He is the only known con whom the report has been handed down to us, that sincerely repent the faults he had committed in an bitter repentance for the murder of Clitus may rem the grief with which Timoleon did not, as a Greek alleges, desecrate his great action, but rather test sacred purity of his motives. The hopeless desp into which Alexander sank towards the end of his l he gave utterance to in such varied and violent w this respect very remarkable, profoundly disclosi the innermost nature of his moral faculties and as There is in this sublime discontent, which only the beloved friend gave rise to in Alexander, something wo affecting, and on the other hand something also great, tivates us; a living instance and proof, as it were, has only the choice between contented mediocrity an exaltedness. What is greater than, amid the mos exuberance of everything that can possibly be desired still unsatisfied after something higher and divin unattainable? That is more than Ilerda and Dyrr There was also suffused throughout the entire life of Brutus, as ancient historians tell us, a melanc kindred nature, by which the rigidity of his virtue eye softened down to moral beauty. Such a fee wholly alien to Cæsar. His material weariness of mere satiety in the superabundance of all earthly pos and precisely at this terminating point of his caree become most strikingly visible and evident, what deficiency there was of any aspiration towards an higher something and a divine idea in all his grand deeds. Who would not prefer being the unsatisfi ander, who remained imperfect, than the fortunat who reached the final goal of his desires, but who resembled Catiline, and was obliged to hate Cato?

Cæsar himself openly admitted his resemblance to

e was reproached with having promoted some men of
y lowest extraction to the highest places of honour,
h as he replied, that if assassins and robbers had been
ble to him in the maintenance of his power and dig-
would reward even such persons as these in the very
anner. It was universally believed that he had, on
in occasion, despatched by poison a hired suborner,
the project failed. In his first consulship he stole
ousand pounds of gold from the Capitol, and placed
e quantity of gilt ore in its place; he sold alliances
tered away kingdoms. He often plundered temples
secrated places; he destroyed innocent cities for the
ke of booty. He only defrayed, by these and similar
ns, the expenses of civil war, and the expenditure
l for his triumphs, for his public spectacles and

who wished rather to be than to appear good, who
ings acted with strict morality, in accordance with
an virtue, because he, in conformity with his cha-
could not act otherwise, was quite equal to and a
for Cæsar in greatness of soul, though of an anti-
nature. Cæsar heartily hated him for it, since he
ot despise him. The commencement of their open
as that great day, when the thunders of Catonian
ce dashed in pieces and crushed the half triumphant
ous council of the crafty Cæsar concerning the Cati-
spirators, and filled the sinking senate with the old
enthusiasm. How paltry it was in the victor to
the image of this man in his triumph, who by a
ry death, properly speaking, in the higher sense had
ed over him, for the information of a witness in other
ot over worthy of belief, is credible in this instance,
e death of Cato really vexed Cæsar, because it de-
him of an expected triumph, although he made no
whatever to it, until he at last broke out into the
tion that cost him nothing of his mild views, which
ared he had entertained with respect to him. It is
re petty, that even when dictator, like a vacant
some speaker, he wrote invectives against him, which
pitiful that even the republicans wished to publish
order by that means to exalt by so much the more

the fame of Cato, and to render ridiculous Cæsar's
censuring Cato.

Alexander gave to the age he lived in a direction
appropriate, nay, the very best possible one even for t
mental culture, and its diffusion over Asia. He
share in the horrors committed by the despots who
him, and no blame attaches to him; they were t
posed to his great nature. Cæsar did not profit b
of old free Rome to shape it into something better
hurried it on and prepared it for still worse, for
worst; for other unworthy tyrants, succeeding him
the fruits of his deeds. The whole amount of his
labours was in the end only a further contributi
fortunes of Augustus. Cæsar would have overcom
of men, such as Sylla and Augustus were, in t
sense of the word; but in the more refined art of
was a mere tyro compared with Augustus, who k
with such masterly skill, to be the concealed m
a seeming republic. In the organic genius of a leg
was very far surpassed by even Sylla, who, it is tru
absolute dictator, but still only such in a perfectly
spirit and sense. For a republican imperator, Cæs
tyrannical; for an absolute despotic monarch, too r
too free and careless in his own manners and life.

This was not in a manner the consequence of an
false step, which would have drawn on the others ur
after it. It was not his crossing the Rubicon at
almost of his public life. It was, on the contrary,
incapability and defect in his being to enable him
the mighty task of that period with the requisit
mation. He was naturally disposed to be tyrannic
of monarchical pride; but without the inward wo
priate to such a form, without the moral restraint an
over himself. At a very early age, in the funeral
delivered over his father's sister Julia, he boasted
posed royal race and eulogized the exaltedness of such
Such expressions were very unwise and unseem
citizen of a free state, for a party chief in the Rom
that time, and could only lead to such a catastro
however, is easily forgotten, so long as the god

s on the pinnacle of fortune ; the transition is irre
pid and easy from a demagoguical victor to a tyranni-
. Cæsar was not perfectly clear also with himself
ambitious sentiments, and constantly had in his
saying of Eteocles in Euripides: "For the sake of
y one may act wrong, in other things not." As
shrank so little from the name of absolute ruler and
at he rather seemed to desire it. "Sylla," he said,
understand the rudiments of the governing art, by
g laid down the dictatorship. The republic was
ut an empty name ; men might speak more reserved
and honour his words as laws." Towards the end
he was wont to start in his sleep. He was doomed
to fall, great as he was, and he had a prescient
it. He was indeed great, as he fell, since he found
e of his worthy opponents and avengers.
paved the way for far worse tyrants than himself,
iberius, Caligula, Nero ; he was in his fall an in-
warning, example, and type for them, but in vain.
ublic at that time could no longer exist, the new
al constitution should nevertheless have been founded
more solidly, morally, and justly. There are times
pable of a twofold direction, where the fate of man-
s as it were by a thread, by a hair. If now the age
and Augustus had been such ? If it could be shown
able that the history of mankind would now be clear
trocious centuries, if Cæsar had either not conquered
ed this victory more wisely and greatly ? The
vill hear nothing of this, they who think they
accurately why everything bad that has ever come
as necessary and forced to come to pass. Notwith-
his, these are useful, instructive questions and pro-
a more exalted historical standard of morals and

ed together in this balance, the preponderance inclines
e of the youthfully inspired Alexander, whose histo-
lity and action were more fruitful for the future than
e for the present. If nation too be compared with
e dissolution of Hellenic freedom and civilization
less austere and joyless spectacle than the moral fall

of the old strict Roman world. We are in the on
exalted in our minds by the last glorious soarin
beautiful Grecian enthusiasm; whereas here, in t
western land, everything sinks down into monotonou
until the new sun of a sublimer and divine faith
the old ruins of dilapidated and fallen paganism.

ON THE

BEGINNING OF OUR HISTORY,

AND

LAST REVOLUTION OF THE EARTH;

AS THE PROBABLE EFFECT OF A COMET.

(*Critique on Rhode's Work,* published at Breslau,* 1819.)

l times, amongst all nations and classes, the origin of and of man has always been, as it still is, before her, that branch of study which most interests us kes our faculty of research. The knowledge of y, which partly and in its ultimate object is similarly to the gratification of this natural and ineradicable veness, occupies a very important place in our pre- rman literature, it is promoted zealously from the fferent sides, it is cultivated with corresponding suc- While new treasures and sources are being continually for us in Indian, Persian, Egyptian documents and nts, or important elucidations of them given to us; ven Grecian antiquity, with all that is intimately it, is drawn forth from the narrow circle of ordinary y by the deep acumen of Creuzer, leading us back to ces of all heathen theology, we are no less conducted graphy, that really embraces both earth and men, in genial mode of treating it, as well as by other dis- whether geognostic or relating to the natural history earth, or by a new arrangement and utilization of s previously known, to that point where history may edly become a science, no longer having merely a but a beginning and end also. This is, however,

* Rhode Ueber den Anfang unserer Geschichte und die letzte n der Erde, als wahrscheinliche Wirkung eines Kometen.

said, supposing that that can be termed a science point of fact is only the common remembrance of humanity, as soon as everything spurious shall separated, and a clear interpretation added to th brance of the primeval period, to our own develop the beginning. From all sides this copious supp sources and new ideas streams in upon us, enab understand antiquity completely and more correct all, which now seems still to be wanting, is a su the unlocking of all these treasures, by which v enabled accurately to solve the riddle of the pas plenitude of manifold shapes. Where already su ber of lineaments, so many single words of the w may be allowed such an expression, become sudd with light, solve themselves as it were, and in much that was previously dark; there we may that all can equally become clear and intelligible, the light shall radiate forth to illumine and arran the grade, which our knowledge of collective an now attained," says our author in the preface (p. investigator will look out for a firm spot to stand he may scan the wide field of his inquiry, so as to a method and system the objects as they become visib I perfectly agree with him, when he adds, "Accor view, that spot for standing on, can, and should o an historical foundation, which must especially established, if that be in any way possible."

The author now arranges in a twofold manner th who have meritoriously advanced the higher kn antiquity; inasmuch as he on the one part presen extremely remarkable, a very simple, and yet so an hypothesis, based on geography, concerning th lution of the earth and the great flood, from wh the author's opinion, not indeed the first history ceeds, but yet that history immediately affecting u known (second) commencement of history; on hand, however, points out in the Zendavesta traces of a most remarkable concordance with this thesis of his, and generally speaking is convinced found in the doctrine of Zoroaster, in the sacre and writings of the old Parsees, the richest and m source of olden history and religion or doctrine of

as regards the mode in which the author treats his
cannot enough praise it. Clear and lucid as his
o is also the current of his thoughts, simple, directed
nward to the essential. Bold and decisive in the
e of a great fact, or of a new supposition, as soon
eves himself authorized to it and finds it adequately
he, nevertheless, never in any way loses himself in
natical a working out of all the details by petty
grovelling, or by rash poetical starts. In the solv-
ne very intricate particular mythological question,
iquarian investigators, like those mentioned above,
loubt, surpass him in critical acumen and learning.
y historical sense transcends in this, that in the
his investigation he does not disturb what is unes-
hat is isolated, that he keeps much open and free
or and more close determination, that he confines
the principal thing, and only cares to establish the
torical main facts of primeval history, and the
simple, but of such after-importance, that spring
n.

ctly agree with the author also respecting the prin-
ne method of his inquiries; for I hold it to be, as he
possible to separate what is historical from the
part of the old traditions, and to extract the most
facts of universal primeval history from the web-
lope of mythology; so soon as light shall have once
his chaos, that is, so soon as the firm point of com-
nt, or the central point itself, shall have been found
investigations, and for the opening of man's history.
I, however—this principle having been once accepted
s concede or explain, is why the author in his first
6), should say, "That the history of man begins
last great revolution of the earth;" for if, as he adds,
iscence of a former period remained to them notwith-
an element has been taken up into his assertion that
neutralizes the whole. If the reminiscence of a
ooch remained, and was preserved in the only con-
mode, by sacred tradition, by historical or poetical
ıy should not the historical be as well capable of
parated from this tradition and myth of the ante-
period, as the author attempts to do from the sub-
myth since the last revolution of the earth? The

traditions of the first age after this revolution are vidually often dark, intricate, clouded enough. Th natural, before the heaving elements of the preser race and the newly-arisen nations could have sub and settled into order. It is not difficult to concei saga of the primeval period, in relation to that firs time after the revolution during the first origin of th nations, would be preserved even purer and clearer. Now if the author finds in the Zendave tailed circumstances and causes of the last great d with admirable correctness (according to his by no probable hypothesis of it), why then perhaps othe tions, the Indian for instance, furnish us also wi markable ruins and remains, traces, or hints of that antediluvian period. I expressly abstain as yet fro ing here the Mosaic sacred document or primeval this the author attempts to keep aloof from the ideas and for the moment to set aside, fearing les cation of it should interfere with and disturb the inquiry and a comprehensive criticism. For whic may well excuse him, if the historical contents of be understood, or rather misunderstood, in the us scribed manner, and be then polemically broug against all other old traditions. In a primitivel inquiry, thoroughly carried out and really compr every respect, the matter would assume quite ano As in a later and, compared to the other, lowe antiquarian science, the old Herodotus, once s proached with being so fabulous, is now fully and appreciated by the most learned geographers and h justified and lauded by them for his simple and can so likewise the more our Egyptian, Indian, Persia nese studies of the primitive age progress, the geognostical and primevally historical views be Moses and the Genesis, together with much new li also their ancient dignity in the most ample d author does not like this string to be touched, alth tually is not opposed to the Holy Writ; yet it is striking, that he should not have remarked hims declaration (p. 31)—"That the probable comm human history occurs in the intervals between the

of the earth"—properly understood, so accurately
h the Mosaic account. A supposition, which is cer-
regarded by us as such, as a mere probability, but as
al certainty, as much as anything can be called
the primitive history of man.

grand revolution of the earth remains the main
he author. That by this, in the Zendavesta also,
f Noah or the deluge is meant, and there assigned
ration of the enemy of nature in the shape of a
r or comet, that this is the same, which Moses like-
ibes to us, is clear and indubitable from the circum-
t the Zend myth connects the emigration of Jemjid
rly with that frightful catastrophe, and this pri-
Jemjid is recognized to be a personage identical
iem of the Genesis.

ncipal thought of the author concerning the last re-
f the earth or the deluge is this:—A great internal
was going on at that time in the earth, inasmuch as
siderably deranged the axis and equator of its daily
by which means also the geographical and cli-
ture of the firm land was entirely changed. This
trophe in nature was occasioned by a comet that
very near the earth, having risen in the southern
vident from the description of it in the Zendavesta.
egards the alteration of the pole, as asserted, the
es also for its confirmation on astronomical remarks
itions with respect to the anomalies resulting from
ements of degrees of latitude, such as they have
up to the present time.

ce in this science of antiquity and primitive history,
other, the truth reposes on the evidence of "two
consequently here writ and nature, it is but rea-
at besides the writ, as the sum of all the sacred old
the other witness also, nature, that is, the spirit of
and astronomy, as far as it has yet flourished,
earn, so as to throw light into the darkness of the
orld, while we are exploring there. An hypothesis
y which, drawn up with this overpowering clear-
unite and present so much that is acceptable from
nviction and probable from its almost satisfying our
appeared not unimportant to us. I mean parti-

cularly by that only the principal fact as to the al
the earth's axis and equator, and to the entire clim
of the habitable earth, that is quite naturally, not to
sarily, connected with it. Whether a comet were
as has been often thought, probable as it appears, t
a secondary matter. I will not meddle with that
subject. The real fact which throws light upon
history is that alteration of the equator, and in the
most countries. Supposing it also to be positively
that a comet was the cause, we should nevertheless
high and exclusive a value on the circumstance th
in the Zendavesta, although the mentioning of it, al
it really so was, must certainly be regarded as
This would be precisely as if we should allow Py
be the sole object of our admiration among the G
sophers, because he knew the true system of the w
revolution of the earth about the sun, and not pla
value on the sagacity of Heraclitus, the sublimity o
all-comprehensive penetration of Aristotle. Suc
and too absolute an estimation of one primitive histo
to the depreciation of all the others, ought by so m
to be resorted to by the author, as he most justly
similar proceeding on the part of those who mistak
the high authority of the Genesis for limiting inves
confining the judgment.

To this must be added, that the correct astro
terpretation of the old Asiatic documents is i
subject to great difficulties and uncertainty. T
for instance, which the author so decidedly cons
the planet Jupiter, is, according to a communicati
me by a friend deeply versed in the Persian dicti
documents, in the Bundehesh, far more likely a
whilst others (see Creuzer, Symbol. i. p. 751, not
edit.) take it to be the planet Mars. It cannot
that a comet is meant in that passage of the Z
which speaks of the enemy of nature, a drag
occasioning the flood. Now whether the Zen
right, whether a comet was really the cause or no
this for the author to settle with the astronome
the mathematically correct determination, whet
South Pole is to be placed exactly in the fortiet

southern latitude beneath the Cape of Good Hope. rse of the former equator, and consequently also of cal climate right through Asia in a south-westerly and through the middle of Europe, has, never- istorically, a great deal in its favour for explaining its actually there, and the remains of the primeval By this, for instance, are satisfactorily explained at l without difficulty, all the beds of elephant teeth in the palms and cactuses in the strata of northern , and so on. In so violent and great an alteration, n be no doubt whatever but that much which was n land has become sea, and *vice versâ*. Thus it quite intelligible why fossil human bones are found y and exceptionally, as on the island of Guadaloupe r in the Sierra Nevada of southern Spain (p. 35), the earth was inhabited by a numerous race of men e flood, since we can well assume that those human y lie in very many ways covered by the depths of the is therefore not exactly necessary to assume, accord- e Lüc's arbitrary and violent conclusion (which some aders no doubt remember in the work of Stolberg), the previous land became sea in consequence of the ut that the old bottom of the sea rose up, forming l habitable land; an hypothesis which has the fault too much of a good thing. We may, nevertheless, sume, that a very important change in the main land ce during the catastrophe, so much so that it would labour were we to attempt to define geographically present earth the position of the real primeval land, t was before the flood. Hence also the four rivers ise in Moses, or wherever they are alluded to besides c traditions, as Stolberg, in the text quoted (part i. rightly observes, must now be solely regarded by as a type; since in no part of the earth is a spot to , where four such streams, as there expressly men- pring from one common source. This is the case, you consider the Phison, the only doubtful one, as onymus did (Epist. II. 15), to be the Ganges, or on it as the Caucasian river.* To this must be

on the Mosaic map of the world in Malte Brun's Atlas, that ated geographer is inclined to regard not merely the Phison,

added, that in that passage of the Genesis the de
bolical meaning of the four rivers* is of more imm
portance, since their geographical names are eviden
added for the depicting of the analogy; so many
of which are similarly to be found in other p
Scripture.† In the same manner as the author co
great flood and the change in the earth's axis that
place, is also explained, in some measure, although
sufficiently, the highly irregular and utterly ren
our present four or five parts of the earth, unless it
more correct, from deeper reasons of geography,
only three. According to the opinion of those, fo
who find the character of an isolated part of the
expressed in America, not alone in the peculiar
all its vegetable and animal productions, but also i
formation of its shape, approaching at least more
norm, where the great north and southern halves
by a narrow isthmus. Here then it is assumed, th
and Africa, originally belonging to each other, were
by an isthmus, now burst asunder, in the straits of
and so likewise Australia with Asia by the chain
still existing. But in as much as the northern
these two parts of the world, Europe and Asia o

but even the Gihon, as the Cux and the Araxes, and to p
Armenia. According to this explanation, the four streams wo
rise in one region, or nearly so. But how still remote this
source dividing itself into four rivers! The difficulty, there
side is only apparently removed. The same geographer pl
Hevilath in Southern Arabia. But as Moses expressly sa
Phison flows around the land of Hevilath, the difficulty r
magnified even, and completely insuperable. Hence I pe
with Stolberg, that no geographical solution or explanation
sible.

* Compare with this, what the Apostle says (Ephes. iii.
possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quæ sit latitu
tudo, et sublimitas et profundum." Those four dimension
nife, " which the saints recognize," were no doubt known to
his originally pure condition; they may best conduce to po
the real meaning of the four regions of the world and the riv
paradise.

† Thus in Jesus Sirach (xxiv. 32—37), the divine gifts, w
from the Mosaic law and Book of the Covenant, are comp
streams of wisdom; and among these streams, three of thos
are named, the Phison, the Tigris, and the Euphrates.

l Australia of the other, inclined together, the irregu-
consequence, as far as regards the shape of these
the world, thus grown together or entwined into
er, was even doubled. There is much that is very
in this great irregularity, which might perhaps be
d with the earth's axis, as assumed by the author, but
owever, seems by no means immediately to result from
nly remark, for instance, on the globe of the earth, how
land extends both in Northern Asia and in America,
whole breadth towards the north and the North
ile the great points to all parts of the world taper
direct line towards the south. In this hemisphere,
, the sea so preponderates, that we might also aptly
South Pole the Water Pole of the earth. Inde-
y then of the influence of a comet rising from this
we could easily believe that the great flood broke in
from the south, as is related in the Zendavesta. Is
enerally conceivable, quite apart from the alteration
xis of the earth on the whole, that the main land
individual portions of the world, as pieces or limbs
per earth's coating, have been moved by themselves
t from their places? The irregular shape of the
nain land might easily lead to such assumptions.
e of the direction just alluded to of the breadth in
land towards the north, and of the points stretching
uth, the outlines of the parts of the world separated by
ften appear to correspond mutually to each other in
entures and prominences, as if they had been wrenched
like as the rocky banks of a river often are, standing
each other. This is especially remarkable in South
; namely, on its eastern coast, and on the west
Africa, where both respond to each other. Much of
nt irregular shape of the main land could thus be
l, on that supposition of a tide advancing from the
d a subsequent divulsion from east to west, which,
ntly, together with that direction towards the north,
twofold motion. If also upon the whole an ex-
ock, as the effect of a proximate comet, was the
cause of the flood, we need not exclude an internal
, metamorphosis, development, and evolution, or per-
n disease in the organic life of the earth, from that,

which, if it did not produce the catastrophe, may
co-operated. Not to increase the number of poss
jectures in this higher department of geography ha
mitted myself to make these allusions, but solely in
attend to all the sides of the subject, and to pose
questions to science. The most essential questio
kind may possibly be this, whether the shape of
land, irregular as it actually is, may not have fir
through the last revolution of the earth; whethe
continent, the real primitive land before the flood,
have had a more regular and a more mathematica
form; and if so, what? This question is of cou
fluous, should the higher branch of astronomy alr
for answering it some analogies, derived from wh
know, or can with probability suppose of planetary
The author considers as an especially important
estimating the consequences of the last revolution,
since then, upon the evidence of the Zendavesta, v
summer should have existed, and that before the
season only, one perpetual summer, prevailed. Ac
he seems to assume, that the obliquity of the eclipti
then first produced; since change of seasons would
accompany such obliquity, no matter when or how

Willingly as I assent to the main supposition
author's respecting the last revolution of the earth,
still appears to be wanting. It would have been
for instance, if the author had contemplated the
change of the earth not merely astronomically, an
confined himself merely to the natural, historical p
on the surface of terrestrial life, but had extende
vestigation also to the inner change effected in so
during and by the flood, to the probable deteriorat
atmosphere in its elementary nature, as also to
quences of this change for man himself, his diet
diseases to which he is subject; perhaps even to
ence thereby given to some subordinate animal pr
since in the decaying organism of a deceased indivi
kind of false life and of vital organization is prod
these and such respects we should have been gl
author had also introduced into the sphere of his
tions the atmosphere, the change and deterioration

uring the last revolution of the earth. The air is, , that which is real in nature; the atmosphere forms per organ of all earthly life.

far respecting that which belongs to geography, in a of the author, the definitive decision of which, for st part, belongs to another tribunal. I now turn to perly historical part of the work lying before me, more directly concerns us. Here I shall follow the step by step; but at the same time connect with it lusively introduce some few words concerning the . Not for the purpose of disputing with the author, he has hitherto paid such little attention to Moses, s not seem to have made himself intelligible,—for in f fact, his judgment respecting him, only negatively ed, can hardly be deemed one at all,—but solely to ght on the case itself by so doing; since this, namely inning of human history, is now inseparably connected e profounder and right understanding of that sacred nt; since also, among the results of the author, those oncern the nature and essence of the first and primi- gion, appear to be the most important, which we have ider with especial attention, to which then, what to be reminded concerning the primitive language, in of alphabetical writing, and the migration of the man races from one common primitive land, we can nnex as a corollary.

work of a kindred nature ("On the Age and Value of siatic Documents," preface, page vi.) the author quotes ge from Sir William Jones concerning the application Genesis to learned and historical investigations, which e following import: "Either the eleven first chapters Genesis are true, or our national religion (the Christian false. But now Christianity is not false, and conse- those chapters are true." Now this is exactly the e, which the author blames, considering it as destruc- he freedom of research; he finds it most objectionable, utterly reprobates it in all those, who, even in this ient of science, must needs preserve their character of hristian scholars and act accordingly.

e work before us also (p. 22) he reckons among thos ces, which must first be discarded, before the investi-

gation can at all proceed with impartiality, the a
" that there are and can be no older documents than
Moses, and that all ancient traditions, for this very re
manifestly false." First of all, as far as regards th
the other traditions and documents, criticism alone,
religion, has to decide ; nor is it at all evident how
any way affect religion, even should older traditions
Mosaic be really discovered. It may be notwith
assumed as positive that this case has not as yet
The actual rejection of all traditions that do not h
coincide with the Mosaic is not by any means so
tionally contained in that principle, as Sir W. J
expressed it. Categorical and peremptory for learn
cism, of grave results for historical research, as
appear at first sight, it may be easily cleared up
plained. It is not the principle itself so immediat
cerned as what follows after. If the conclusion i
from that phrase, that all other Asiatic documents a
tions, which perhaps only apparently contradict
Moses, are to be at once valued as nought and
rejected, why then assuredly all further investiga
enlargement of our views would be cut off and an
But this is by no means the case, if we would content
with simply deducing from that argument, perfectl
in itself, what really is contained in it ; that
namely, carefully to examine and critically to in
other Asiatic documents and traditions, more espe
compare them with one another and with the Mosaic
It is clear that Moses, even if we did not rever
account as a sacred one, would necessarily appear as
of safe guides by reason of his sublime simplicity. To
at least such a comparison, and until its completio
pend and preserve unbiassed the judgment, regar
that reveals itself as quite uncertain or too difficul
comprehension, this is a law imposed on us by sou
cism. Sir W. Jones, notwithstanding that maxim
himself attempted on a great scale, with equal great
hensiveness of judgment as deep learning, to institut
comparison of the Genesis with the other old tradit
all the new ethnographical discoveries, in his tre
the descent of all known people according to the

l races. It would do no harm if we, in accordance
it critical moderation, would assume also in a manner
ble, that we do not perhaps as yet understand, or at all
ave not hitherto understood, in their full extent, the
and historical contents of the Genesis; a supposition
the slightest degree opposed by Christianity, as the
struction, which we have to derive from that com-
ent of the Bible, is in religion not doubtful and in
quite independent of learned investigations. If any-
owever, can serve as confirmation to the assertion, that
esis is no longer at all rightly understood by our cri-
s hitherto applied, and by our present exegesis, it is
ersal applause which the well-known hypothesis has
nong so many biblical scholars, that the beginning of
as been blended, has grown or been interwoven from
uments—an Elohim-document and a Jehovah-docu-
-an hypothesis that immediately falls to the ground
as we have begun to understand the sense of the
ord; but I reserve it, since it is still so generally
as a remarkable monument of critical error in our
for the sake of elucidating it thoroughly on some
casion.

s now compare first the view of the author concerning
is in general, and let us see how his own ideas are at all
le to the Genesis or stand in relation to them. The
emarks very correctly and ingeniously, that we can
ish two different lines and threads (pp. 1 and 2) in
h and tradition of any ancient nation; the mythic,
directed to the commencement of all history and at
, is interwoven with some theology or cosmogony;
e actual and appertaining to the history of each
s its own. In history itself, however, we have again
to distinguish the ante-chronological part from what
ly chronological. It must be confessed that it cer-
that first thread with its contents, directed to the
g of human history with reference to God or to
that is especially susceptible of the mythic formation
presents the nucleus for mythic increment; but as
ot absolutely necessary, and in the Genesis decidedly
e case, it would be more correct to name quite simply
t of tradition the primitively-historical, according to

the essential contents of the recognition preserved i
the Genesis the ten first chapters form this primiti
torical part, and this part peculiarly, which alone co
here, we shall subsequently understand by the
Genesis. It is to be observed, that the other constitu
which we should prefer calling the popular-histori
not be absolutely actual, but may also contain v
that is symbolical and typical, as indeed is the case
popular-historical part of the Genesis, the forty last
in the first book of Moses, which do not here mo
diately concern us. It is really surprising how it
author did not remark how singularly applicable
fectly correct division and idea of his is to the do
Moses, since hardly an old Asiatic tradition beside
be found, in which the primitively-historical con
kept so palpably and distinctly separated from the
historical, at the same time, however, both so natural
together according to the historical thread of the
This historical connection or linking is most cons
Nimrod, at the close and in the last chapter of t
tively-historical part, and in the destruction of Ba
eleventh chapter, which preludes the birth and call
ham as the beginning of the popular-historical par
as palpably also in the primitively-historical pa
ante-chronological separated from the chronologi
chronological begins with Seth in the fifth chapte
four first chapters are ante-chronological; for, altho
is related about the discovery of human arts and c
lations in the race of Cain descends indubitably and
into chronological history, still it is described,
should be carefully attended to, without chronology
in this manner the transition and connecting poi
chronological part and period.

Now, what principally distinguishes the Gene
most peculiar and limited sense, that is, those first
ters of a primitively-historical purport, is the hier
brevity prevailing in this section, that so forcibly
with the circumstantiality and copiousness of det
following popular-historical part. If, also, in this l
is contained much that is of deeper import, stil
comprised so in single allusions, as so much is foun

rst part, as if lost to all appearance. In point of lly another piece can be found in the whole circle of nguage, writ, and tradition, where all is so replete ve import and the deepest meaning, where every l every syllable is so significant, as in this myste- ginning of the Genesis. We cannot avoid seeing, hieroglyphical brevity was intentional, and in part difficult to find out what this intention was imme- irected to, or by what it was determined. Moses y it to confine himself to what is absolutely indis- and most requisite in primitive history, in order to ll mythic increment, to which this subject-matter is nial, since this increment could only render that y of revelation liable to abuse, and was especially ly incompatible with the vocation and the peculiar which he intended, and indeed was bound, to lead his There is another analogy, however, for explaining tion of that hieroglyphical brevity of the Genesis, in the Bible itself. The corner-stone and the end of less dark and mysterious than the beginning. As clear light which the prophet of the new covenant forth into the darkness of the future and the final his world, may indeed become manifest and intelli- the solitary individual to whom it is useful or neces- for the whole, because the too clear knowledge of e would otherwise act disturbingly, nay, on the least ith frightful destruction on the present, must and ain sealed up in that book of the Apocalypse, until shall have come when it is to be unsealed; so likewise te knowledge of collective primitive history in the s of the world would have worked only disturbingly ructively to excess on the people of Israel, which, in the promise under the law, had to walk without g on the way pointed out to them towards the goal. For this reason, therefore, was that know- us kept back from them, thus shrouded in light, and parted in that exact measure, such as was essential to If, above all, we conceive the Bible as a whole, pel forms as it were the middle of it, from which the aming forth in a fourfold stream, illumines all the d animates it with superior life. The Genesis and

the Apocalypse, Beginning and End, are the r
handles of the holy vessel, which we must first rig
hold of, so as to grasp, hold, and bear, the ark of
word. I embrace this opportunity of explaining unr
in opposition to the author and others, my views ar
tions respecting the Genesis and the right explana
After all that has been just enunciated above,
longer be ambiguous, in the sequel it will become
evident, in what sense I find the key mentioned abo
well applied, is alone able to decipher the great ri
primitive world, and to infuse light into the cha
olden traditions. On the other hand, it can willing
ceded, and should not be disregarded, that the hier
brevity of that Mosaic commencement would oft
stand in need of further amplification and of a co
For such a commentary, which it must be admitt
essential, and would be highly instructive, the
Asiatic, Indian, Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, trad
documents present to us the most abundant materia
as the right understanding of them shall have bec
sible to us by the inner key, and with it the rig
the whole shall have been found. To consider all
Asiatic traditions as mere delusive phantoms,
truth, would be most assuredly the greatest misun
that can possibly be conceived, and never to be
If I, however, find in the Genesis a deeper me
that which may be spelt out of the commonest He
bulary, I don't mean by that alone that esoteric
known by the name of the Mosaic philosophy; fo
least in what has been so called for the last th
centuries, there is much that is purely imaginative
unfounded, mingled with much that is profound
putably true. When asserting this, I have here
and immediately in my eye all that is containe
not a little, in tradition and in the fathers of the
the profounder interpretation of the Genesis; bu
the light which the Genesis, as indeed the whole
tains, from the connection existing between thi
which the former is a part and a member. As
author is best explained by his own works, so li
the rule hold good more especially of this autl

be termed great before all others; I am speaking of
; for the divine word, even the written word, is a
ich best illumines itself, and renders itself clear.
tion here, therefore, neither is nor can be concerning
ary accommodation-system, but that meaning, which
h philological strictness will continue to be the sole
which serves, too, as the base of all sublimer
that is, a criticism which comprehends the spirit,
h understands in the spirit.

ake now the application of this with immediate respect
torical assertions of the author. He reckons Moses
ong those who have represented the last great re-
and revolution of the earth as the creation of it, and
connected it with the first commencement of man's
The inaccuracy of this assertion is conspicuous, as we
ady proved above, since the flood in the Zendavesta,
by the enemy of nature and the dragon-star, is the
oah's, which Moses assigns to an epoch long posterior
gin of the human race. If, however, in any part of
led history of creation in Moses, there is also meant a
or re-formation of the earth, this cannot in anywise
ered as the last (or the deluge); but it must have
ber, an earlier one, and far more probably the last but
as the author in his way says (p. 31), "The pro-
mencement of the human race lies in the period
the two last re-formations." In another place he
at the human race at that great revolution of the
still near its origin, at least in comparison with the
ch has since transpired, can hardly be doubted;"
th the limitation added to it, likewise agrees very
Moses.—Where now does the author, however, find
on in Moses—in the first verse of the first chapter or
owing six days of creation also? In the first verse
on quite undeniably concerns the creation of all visi-
visible things; but as the earth, in the second verse,
with the water, is supposed to be already existing, and
ed in its chaotic, dark, flooding state, it is evident
e following six days of work the question cannot in
er concern the first and proper creation of all things
whole world from nothing, according to the Mosaic
tian idea, but only be concerning a cosmical arrange-

ment, a reconstruction and fitting up of the earth as a d
place for man, an organic vivification and filling of t
with living natures, the whole work being crowned
creation of man. The author has here openly satisfie
with that which is usual in the newer exegesis, by
is easily comprehensible why his repugnance shou
turned him from the bad commentaries, and even acc
him to the text itself. In such investigations as h
would have been desirable, if he had rather looked ar
for the old way of elucidation,* but especially had
with attention what really stands in Moses and wha
perly himself says. Let us consider, therefore, in thi
the whole text of the Mosaic six days of work, especi
precedes them in the first and second verse. "In t
ning God created heaven and earth;" that is, the
world and the sensual world, or, as it is said in the S
with evident relation to this beginning of Moses, "all
and visible things." He created them, and indee
Christian sense, which is also the Mosaic one, what
properly means, out of nothing. For the antithetical c
matter existing coevally with the world-spirit, equall
and consequently independent of it, which first was fo
ordered by God into the world, this opinion, whic
prevalent one among so many ancient nations, is
rejected and excluded by the words of Moses, and as
often recognized by other learned men. The passa
the beginning," however, can here not so much appl
nity, but, judging by the whole of the context, to the
of temporal creation.† In the second verse follows no

* It is remarkable, how carefully the expressions of the old
and church-fathers are continuously selected on this subject,
difference is most clearly defined, and no confusion to be
Thus St. Justin says in his Apology II., when speaking of
cause, why the Christians celebrate the Sunday, and meet to
Sunday, because Christ rose on this day, and principally,
because this was the first day in which God changing darkness
formed the order of the world: "επειδαν πρωτη εστιν ημερα,
το σκοτος και την ὑλην τρέψας, κοσμον ἐποίησε." How co
selected these expressions, which evidently apply solely to a
and change of matter that had become dark, from the Mo
of the creation, if he had understood and regarded this as a
creation from nothing (according to Christian and therefore to

† The existence of another creation from eternity is not

iption of a state entirely chaotic of the earth still
overed with darkness. "And the earth was without
void,"—it was still without organic life. "And dark-
upon the face of the deep;" the earth was still with-
eneficial influence of the light and all that is produced
Never theless all was already present, from out of which
e, better state was to proceed; for "the Spirit of God
oon the face of the waters." Earth and water, there-
e here already present, although floating still quite
y in the darkness. By so much the less, therefore,
wo first verses be regarded and explained as mere
ption and compendium, the sequel of which contains
e the further carrying out and gradual description of
ne would also reduce to a mere superscription the end-
nts of the first verse in this manner, with respect to
itulation in chap. ii., verses 1 and 4, this would not
applicable to the second verse, which contains and
something quite different; such a violent interpret-
uld be here inconceivable, and impossible to be carried
e first day-labours of the following history of creation
t this, how the earth was brought out of that chaotic
described in the second verse, how it was organically
and fitted up as an abode for man. In the first and
s also nothing is contained that can be referred to or
l with respect to the first production and creation of
r or the earth. They are expressly supposed to be
existing, and all that is spoken of is the separation of
ior waters—the clouds, vapours, and misty night—
inferior, as likewise of the sea from the main land
wed that influence of the light; moreover, of the clear

ly it cannot be the one meant here. Christianity,—the Bible
the Church,—as is well known in the positive dogma, does not
ween the creation temporarily beginning, and the one from all
but it might well be the proper task of Christian philosophy to
tention to both, each in its place, and by this very means first
nifest and clear the mystery of the creation. As far as regards
ne beginning," I will merely remark, that in another passage of
where the first creature is spoken of, created indeed, but
om all eternity, the passage for that very reason cannot be
l as referring to the Son, to whom "ab initio" is emphatically
et ante omnia sæcula," in the words "Ego creata sum ab
nte omnia sæcula," &c.

firmament of heaven, which finally separated the ol
of mists, and of the dam, which was placed on the eart
the flooding of the primitive waters. The question, t
here is not concerning the first creation of the earth
was a reinstitution, a new re-formation and fitting
earth, which preceded the creation of man, and pre
this ultimate object was it arranged and disposed in
serve him as an abode. Now, if all doubt be remo
this side, a question difficult to solve remains on t
How does Moses, after his brief allusion to the
creation of all things, allude all at once to that chao
which he describes with such wonderful energy in a fe
Is God, the living God of Moses, a God who can
chaos, the well-known Thohu and Bohu, an "earth
form and void?" This is not conceivable. Equall
still less, can an uncreated chaos be assumed as coexis
the true God, which would also be an absolute cont
to the first verse. There is consequently a great gulf
the first and the second verse; not that it is an a
hiatus, for assuredly nothing whatever is there, but
deepest design. In order to fill it, it is also only per
to make that present, to re-present to our minds in s
which is actually certain from the Bible and Mose
God has created all beings good, and can have created
If spirits, however, which were free, fell off from
chaotic disorder, as the result of such lapse, is es
ceivable. This essential main dogma of the Christian r
forms the basis everywhere of the Bible, of the Mosai
itself, and is alluded to in countless passages. That
and founder of all disorder and darkness, that liar
beginning, whom Moses immediately after introdu
the type of the serpent, without having previously spo
creation or his fall, which he silently presupposes, a
so much besides, him we must think of as explicati
passage. Not indeed as an arbitrary interpolation
text of holy writ, but as a mere complement in our
as an elucidation for our understanding. In this m
beginning of Genesis by this explication might be co
upon somewhat as follows:—"In the beginning Go
the heaven and the earth," that is, the spiritual worl
sensual world; (but after that the first of created s

from God, and had drawn down into perdition a great
reation with him, thus—) "the earth was without form
and darkness was upon the face of the deep," and so
soon as the two first verses of Moses are properly
od, and the one main and fundamental error be re-
hich confuses the contents of the two first verses, the
six days of work, the first creation of all things out
g, with the new formation of the world before the
f man, then all obscurity disappears more and more
parts which follow, and at all events the whole as it
becomes clear and intelligible.

lling forth and the first beaming of light is the
erm from which, as the first point of beginning, the
acts of this new cosmical arrangement and superior
ion of the earth proceed in obedience to God's be-
ie four first days of work and periods serve for
the earth that arrangement which it required as
tion for man. No sooner were light and darkness
, when the murky volume of clouds opens and dis-
, the firmament of heaven vaults itself in its bright
over the earth; sea and land divide and gain a firm
, and from out of the watered earth herbs and plants
wards the light. Before it was yet day upon earth,
beginning of light, in the old night, when the earth
dark, sun and moon could not act upon it, were not
r it; but now the star of day and the lesser one of the
eared and acted; they warmed and vivified the ex-
h, and the glancing heavenly bodies began their side-
utions. In the fifth and sixth days of work the earth
ith living creatures, all of them subjected and service-
an, and the work closes with that, which is the crown
of the whole,—with the creation of man; whereupon
completed work comes the seventh day of rest, or Sab-
od, as type of the human one according to the Mosaic
on. As the first moment of creation, in this work of
formation of the world, is sufficiently expressed in
f light through the eternal word, so also is this
the creation of man; it is distinguished and exalted
by both the importance and sublimity of the ex-
that are quite unmistakable. On the other hand, in
ior productions allusion is made to a not immediate

bringing forth, as in the words, "And let the earth
forth grass and herb; and the earth brought forth grass

If now the question should arise, what is then proper
main fact, that in an astronomical sense forms a base
first days of work in this first Mosaic re-formation
earth; this question would be perhaps not unanswerabl
would certainly of necessity be quite a simple fact, from
might easily be derived all that part of the Mosaic desc
having reference to geography or the science of the eart
the creation of man in the divine image remains a subj
dependent of the rest, and appertains to another s
sphere of inquiry The following thought may at all
be posed here as a question for our scientific knowled
our mental construction of the primitive edifice of the
If we suppose for a moment that the earth once comple
revolution round the sun differently from what it no
without daily rotation round its own axis, but somew
the moon about the earth, consequently with the sam
continually presented to the sun, or else as turning onl
in the year round its axis; if we then would lay this q
before any man versed in natural philosophy, how und
a supposition the earth at that time could possibly be
tuted, the answer doubtless would upon the whole be
effect: That the earth then could neither produce nor
organic life, at least not any that would deserve
called such in our sense according to the present const
of it, exactly as Moses says, "The earth was withou
and void." Moreover he would say, that without th
fying influence of day and night, the earth might ve
sibly have been in that chaotic, dark-waving state,
Moses so emphatically depicts in that passage. Now,
life-awaking beam of light radiate into the internal for
the heart of the earth, and with the daily rotation on
let the pulse of its superior planetary life begin, then
succeeds will spontaneously follow as it were. Th
cleaves the clouds, the old heaving masses of mist op
firmament of heaven spreads out above the body of the
on which both sea and land separate themselves also
the heaving chaos. Vegetation bursts upwards fr
moistened earth towards the light; the earth is now a
for being filled with organic life of every description.

e replied, that the supposition is impossible, because
t from all eternity, according to a necessary law of
ust have had its daily rotation on its own axis, we
quire the most rigid proof of that. Some people are
to be far too prodigal with their supposed "eternal
ace the development of nature, everywhere gradual,
now again recognized by the masters of science,
not even yet perhaps to a sufficient extent, both in
l things and throughout the universe at large. If,
the supposition be conceded as possible, all that fol-
omes clear, and disengages itself quite naturally from
efficient point of beginning, the first radiation and
ent of light called forth by God, and which begins
daily rotation on its axis of the earth. Of this ever
le event, it then is with truth so graphically said,
od divided the light from the darkness. And God
e light day, and the darkness he called night. And
ng and the morning were the first day." These last
ed now no longer be explained in a general, half-
e sense, for they are at the same time also literally
ur natural philosophy also will not be disinclined to
the miraculous nature of this first commencement of
likewise the development, so immeasurable as to its
nat ensued from that one life-fact of the daily ro-
Nevertheless, between all the fulness of organic
ent in life and the last in Moses,—"the crea-
man in the divine image," there still remains
homable gulf, which no natural philosophy can ever
or here it treads on ground not its own, where the
tion with the subject itself passes away from the
natural development into the region of immediate
n of the inner divine Being. We also can allow,
any scruples, what the author says (page 41), and
with him, "As the earth was ripe for bearing the
crown of its organization, he appeared upon his
Only the word "present" might lead us too far.
y enough, however, he adds, "But the time may
en in the stream of development this period of the
ll pass, in the collective relations of which the
of man lay; he may at some time hereafter, in a
er generated state of the earth, adhering as too

heavy, too much to the mass, sink without support, over into still more spiritual forms." How clearly see here, that no sooner do we leave the firm ground of revelation, which teaches us to recognize that great u of God's image in the nature of man, and by that very also to understand first the commencement of human h what a boundless space is opened to us for scientific fa sport in! If the spiritual spark, for it can hardly be divine on this occasion, if then the spiritual spark i which properly makes him man—call it reason and bility of speech, freedom or fancy—could be attached or that animal form, be degraded into it or again subt from it, we cannot fail perceiving why this should equally applicable to the past. The author might ther quite as much reason, have been able to seek out for th of the primitive world among the numerous races of ele or the mammoths of primeval antiquity, as he opens for the future, the prospect of man's transition into more spiritual forms." Since he by these forms do understand, as we others do, the illumined bodies risen, but to all appearance only a lighter and a more animal form and genus, somewhat as the winged inhal of the air may already give us an example, supposing have guessed the bold fancy of the author by a righ jecture.

We have thus followed to their extreme limits the n historical view and the hypothesis of the author. Wh been hitherto said may serve as a first intimation for sh that the Genesis may be regarded differently from wh author appears to have done up to the present time. that we have therefore put aside that, which rela geography in the primævo-historical time, to the old tions and sacred documents treating of it, let us pass a to the fourth result of the author concerning the pri religion, and which is intimately connected to what ha ceded. That which is contained in the second and results concerning the primeval land after the last revo of the earth, concerning the primitive people and the emigrations, the primary language, together with our re thereon, will best remain for the close. The fourth re the author is now as follows:—

ere was a primitive religion, from which all the reli-
antiquity have proceeded."
ubtedly the original religion in the first age of the
as only one; it was a religion of nature, that is,
tion and adoration of God in nature, and of nature
All heathenism has arisen from this natural religion
rimitive world by further development, formation, or
tion. On this grade of heathenism stood the Egyp-
reeks, and Romans; the Indians stand thereon still;
he Mahomedans, together with the Jews, have con-
o stand, or have sunk back upon the second grade of
etic religion of law. That first natural religion is
, for instance, by a second epoch in the history of
which the author himself recognizes as such, and
propriately denominates the doctrine of revelation, or
fashion of expressing it, "saga of revelation" (page
passim); this is that religion which is no longer
to the universal revelation of God in nature, but is
on a special revelation (true or accepted as such), in
on of a religious founder, sent for this purpose, who
nost part is at the same time the national lawgiver,
founds the newly announced religion on a written
mong these the author himself will of course include
rine of Zoroaster besides that of Moses. Of these
now in the second epoch, which are founded on a
evelation and a written law, it cannot well be said
ey have proceeded from the primitive religion." On
rary, it is the depravation, the degeneration of the
e religion, which gave rise to the religion of the
law, the founders and announcers of which, for the
t, found themselves diametrically opposed to, or in a
d struggle with, the old heathenism. When they,
, stepped forward also as the restorers of the purer,
oldest religion, they were essentially distinguished
s latter by the peculiar and new basis of a special
n, and by the form of a written law. Hence Zoro-
his whole character as the proper founder of a
entirely belongs to this second epoch; and we cannot
serving why the author wishes to thrust him back to
lier period (p. 4), since the Zend books themselves
no authority for so doing, and historical evidence is

all against it. If Pliny and other ancients speak of one several still older Zoroasters, this on the one hand is a common shift, so as to be enabled to unite all, ho heterogeneous or irreconcilable, that is somehow ascri a great national founder in the primitive age. On the hand, it could be also very naturally referred to the f enlightened teachers in the Zend or Parsee tradition, cially to Hom or Heomo, at the time of Jemjid, and still older Hosheng, from which latter the worship of derived. But both these personages belong to the first the world; they are Pishdadians, saints of the pri world, and witnesses of the truth before the written the great Persian-Median religious founder. (Creu p. 670.)

Heathenism is in sooth capable of the very greatest sity in its local development, precisely because it is a re of nature, just as the fancy happens to cull from the e abundance of nature what most pleases it, and as nature reveals itself in the immediate neighbourhoo shapes out also further what it has so culled. But be it is a religion of nature, and so long as it remains o such, is it essentially one and the same. The most imp difference, the most important in its consequences, i which takes place between the cult of the elements fire, as obtaining with the shepherd and nomad tribe between the sideral natural worship of agricultural n Even here there is, however, no positively absolute s tion; transitions and commingling between both ki the old natural worship are plentifully found. The so ference that might be first established between that wh essentially one in its first foundation, though capable infinitely varied evolution, would be the one betw heathenism with God, and a heathenism without Go heathenish religion entirely without God will not ea found, at least among those nations who possess a tr and are historically known to us. Thus here again everything rests on a More or Less, on the degree of st and clearness with which, or on the different form in the idea of the true God steps forth from the chaos of mythology. Here now is the point where I must s from the author, inasmuch as he does the greatest inju

inal, pure heathenism of the primitive world, when he that for it "God and nature were still one" (pp. 22), that they consequently knew nothing whatever of e God, did not recognize God in nature, regarded, , nature in God, worshipped only in the main nature nd alone. This would be in itself clearly considered, l imaginable, for we cannot well assume that error l truth. Moreover it is contradicted by all historical e, all old traditions and documents. It rather suits ern men of science and natural philosophers to lose nature, and that both should become one. Even our speaks once quite incidentally of "eternal natural a phrase which we can pardon in the mouths of regu- of science and ordinary natural philosophers for that, which nature has once accepted and presup- hich appears to be equally necessary with her, and is ed as such. It should, however, be excluded in ely historical research, which requires the greatest of expression. What can be named eternal in hat is not to be sought for in laws, but in that which ed above the laws, and which precisely by this pro- tself as free and divine. Should the author, how- lly consider nature as eternal, I should much like to w he has acquired this remarkable knowledge. In n time that interchange and blending of God with oes not at all take place in the manner the author s, not even there where naturalism predominates. finitely can we distinguish and extract in the old religions the idea of the true, or in order to denote it rkedly in contradistinction to naturalism, of a supra- transcendental or metaphysical God, from the poly- additaments and the mythological accompaniments. erence is here only solely this, that in some systems enism, as in the Indian, Persian, and Chinese, partly he Egyptian, which in this respect forms the transi- he Grecian mythology, the metaphysical idea of God, this idea may be polytheistically deformed subse- nevertheless forms as it were the core and the soul, re, beginning, and summit of the whole. On the other n the heathenism of the Greeks, and of kindred the same idea becomes completely covered and

obscured by mythology, and only breaks out in detached
sages, as especially in the mysteries; here and there, too, o
them, and then in a manner that is entirely unmistak
With respect to the Greeks, this will scarcely require any
ther proof after Creuzer's great researches. The defini
so entirely metaphysical, of the supreme God, in the In
and Persian sacred books, is evident to any one. Concer
the religion of the other old nations, it will be easy to d
from these fundamental traits, whether they belong mo
the one or to the other class. The Jehovah of Moses,
more recent critics, is a mere national God of the Jews;
the word itself is already quite metaphysically formed
Indian Suayambhu, may, first out of the old languages,
respond to it); this is still more confirmed by other M
definitions of the same God, as, The "I am" sends Moses
am, that I am." Thus this name of Jehovah, according t
entire etymology, may signify nothing else, save him, w
there and is manifest, who was there and will be there;
being in the indefinite universal ens, generally speak
but being there, that is, existing, that is, manifestin
revealing himself. This four-formed (τετραγραμματον)
mysterious name therefore defines especially the Go
Revelation, on which account the older Latin church lang
translates this word every time by DOMINUS. That Jeh
regarded also historically, is, according to Moses, not mer
national God, and not merely peculiar to the Jews, is
from the blessing of Noah, where it is expressly said,
Jehovah be the God (the Elohi) of Shem and his poster
that is, in other words, the descendants of Shem ar
without a knowledge of the true and living God. We s
here peculiarly think also of the Persians, who desc
from the race of Shem, their religion being always so
fully and evidently separated in Scripture from actual idol
strictly taken, it cannot be classed with heathenism, f
Persians were imbued with a similar abhorrence like t

* In the usual Protestant German translation of the Bible this
correctly given, inasmuch as the two denominations of God, wh
Vulgate at all times very carefully distinguishes, are arbitrarily confo
so that it now reads, "Blessed be God, the Lord of Shem," in
being as in the real text, "Blessed be Jehovah, the Elohi of S
by which transposition the deeper meaning is entirely lost.

pervades the bible of the Egyptian sideral idolatry; so
is almost saying too little, when a talented English
very aptly names the Persians the puritans of heathen-
In the blessing of Noah, that benefit of the real know-
of God is still much more extensively increased, as it is
said of Japhet in the same relation, "he shall dwell
tents of Shem;" which also at this present time has so
antly been fulfilled among the western nations mostly
led from Japhet. The first general primitively his-
part of the Genesis cannot have been at all attended
understood, if in this respect Moses is reproached with
olerant narrow spirit of nationality. On a closer in-
n, it will much rather become clear, that Moses it is
ves us the correct and pure idea of the simple natural
n prevailing in the primitive world, such as it was
Judaism and the religion of the written law, and from
all heathenism derived its origin.

at properly confines and impedes the author in this
question concerning the origin and the original consti-
of religion is the difficulty, not easily solved it is true,
he well feels, how the idea of the true God first
ed to man and generally speaking could enter his
As the author, among the various attempts to answer
uestion, mentions, among the other essays, my own
on, contained in the work of mine, entitled "On the
age and Wisdom of the Indians," that this could only
lace by an immediate revelation, but which as well as all
ers appear unsatisfactory to him (pp. 48 and 59), I will
attempt a very definite explanation of it. This is one
se points where primitively-historical research comes
navoidable contact with philosophy; a contact which
thor would fain elude, but which, in this latter part of
rk, he can in nowise avoid. Now, if it is a free,
philosophy, not such a one as founds a system from
ctions, we cannot then well see how such a philosophy
exercise any disturbing influence on primitively-histo-
esearch, which the author very justly could only be
ensive of from that philosophy which is shrouded in a
hampered in a maze of abstractions. Concerning the
of the idea of God in man, the following modes of
ning it, or nearly so, are employed. If this idea is

begotten and produced by the reason through itself and
its own personality, the origin of the idea of God is
equally explained from itself; only the existence of God
of the idea, and apart from it, is then inexplicable;
idealistic difficulty, not being by any means the opinio
the author, we shall not enlarge upon, as this view is bes
in its full strictness, peculiar to a few thinkers only, and
never become a general mode of thinking. By so much
more generally is the opinion diffused, which supposes
natural man attains the idea of God from mere sensual
ceptions, images, and feelings, by a gradual exaltation,
fying and refining of them; where the idea then appea
be in itself a compound one and relative to its origi
accidentally occasioned, it consequently loses all reality;
author appears to lean to this latter view in one respect w
we shall hereafter further allude to, though he upon the w
admits the unsatisfactory nature of this explanatory mode
In point of fact it is but a mere mock-thought, which, i
attempt to throw light more nearly upon it, does not be
clear and intelligible, cannot indeed be worked out
thought. In its very best sense, and most favourably i
preted, it could only be explained as a re-finding a
gradual stepping forth of the idea of God, which then
have been implanted previously in man. This last is
base of the third acceptation, of which we are the advoc
What we call reason and other similar qualities and po
that we distribute and apportion to men, they are but
distributions and qualities on the surface of the out
semblance of man. In his real inward essence, man co
of two things only—mind and soul. This is precisely
essence of man, that he is not mind alone, but a mind th
united to soul and forming with it one. Now, if the mi
well as the soul have and can have originally no other o
save God, if He is the first thought of every created
and the original object of the sentient soul, why the
idea of God is to be considered as innate in man. It is
no longer inexplicable how this idea can be developed in
even by an external cause and can be again elicited, si
lies originally in him. This reawakening is always po
to whatever degree mind and soul may be diverted, perpl
confused by other and external objects; because the tho

is to be evoked anew, was for both the first, the ori-
one. We may also aptly term such a reawakening of
nate idea in man of God a reminiscence, in the Plato-
in some similar sense. This reminiscence, however,
s imperfect so long as it is nothing more than such,
nly a faint presentiment, in an image as it were, of
t would fain substantially comprehend. A vast chasm
es between this presentiment and the immediate con-
ness of his Being, which can only be effected and
ned by the object itself, by actual contact with God.
should this, if it was from the beginning, be not possi-
so in every subsequent period, although surpassing the
sense? Because this inner ray of the Eternal beams
ince all time, and the immediate conscious perception
Divinity is at once there, swiftly and rapidly as the
ng is kindled before our sensual eye; it is hence
illumination, like the creative commencement of light
ure. Such is the maxim posed in this view, that all
ition of God depends on immediate illumination. Now,
his illumination an external direction and operation, a
and divine command be adjoined, then it is what is
inated in a special sense a personal revelation, what is
ted to the proclaimers and founders of the true religion
ving recognition of God. Belief or faith, however, is
hering to an illumination not its own, it is an appre-
g and comprehending of it, which without some
illumination of its own is not conceivable, if the
shall not be a mere external one, that merely utters
ter without reflection, and, therefore, properly would
without internal conviction. Thus everything comes
o the principle of illumination, as the first source for
cognition of God. In the hope that this explanation
ow be sufficiently palpable and definite, I will, in
o obviate all misconception, annex, that consequently,
nformity with this principle, metaphysics form an
y empiric and positive science, "which cannot be
nicated to those who do not possess of it the idea that
from experience." This is, however, reserved for
r commentation; let us here apply what has been laid
to the constitution and nature of the primitive religion.
rstand One originally good and true religion in a far

more ample sense than the author does; and it will n
easy to explain how I could assert, that the origin
pure heathenism, of which we now find almost every
only the degenerate state, was the true religion of
which recognizes God in nature, but also surveys na
God, without regarding on that account "both as one
was this illumination which the saints of the primitive
possessed, and which also Moses expressly attributes t
of them. If now this divine illumination be not los
of, we can also concede another natural subordinate
coexistent, that "mental instinct," for instance (p. 5
means of which the men of the primeval world, becau
themselves still stood in a closer and more intimate ps
contact and connection with nature, and by this, n
standing they were without our machines, experimen
calculations, knew much of nature, recognized with
clearness, wielded and used with perfect facility wh
with all our reckonings and machines, are not able t
prehend yet so correctly. Since all the analogies of
science and so many historical facts, which otherwise
remain wholly inexplicable, speak for this assumpti
this higher psychical view to be employed here, it
only to be a sceptical wilfulness of the author, w
wishes to set this aside with such peremptory abr
(p. 59).

The illumination, however, which was the source
gion among the saints of the primeval world, is to b
fully distinguished from the special revelation and p
mission of the proper founders of religion, of the pr
national lawgivers, who belong to the second era
world. It is remarkable what the Genesis shortly
concerning some pious and illuminated men of the fi
The first purely historical mentioning of this descri
that of Enos, who first addressed Jehovah by that
that wonderful and mysterious name, "before which a
shall bend, that are in heaven and earth and bene
earth." In the text it says, as is well known, "i
time" the name of Jehovah was first invoked. A
the compiler or arranger of the Vulgate may have
peculiar reasons for preparing that reading, which
personally to Enos this new and great event, the disc

r, or whatever else may be contained in it; still this is much the more evident, that Enos, on this account, is means to be considered as a proper founder of religion e later sense. To this remote age, therefore, does s assign the age of the pure adoration of Jehovah; of h however (the Idris of the modern Orientals, and the a of the Indians, to whom the oldest Indian philosophy igned, at a time previous to the whole development of degenerate mythology, and long antecedent to the comively modern Vedanta-system), of this Enoch, known o the other Asiatic traditions, Moses says, "he lived in "* mentioning and repeating three times the name of m, by which, in such a respect, an especial divine ual force and illumination are at all times implied, some- as in later times the wonderful Elias is named a man of m; so that "he lived in God," if we might be allowed ain circumscription, might be best termed—"he walked e strength of Elohim." Of Noah, it is said again, he grace before Jehovah; and, moreover, he lived in or as we have attempted to express it, "he walked in rength of Elohim." In this saint of the Mosaic primivorld we meet again with the theory of the author. He s a broad distinction between the proper idea of revelaind the mere pious natural feeling of the primeval ages; deavours also to explain in his own way the origin of the which appears to him to have always been unsuccessfully pted as yet. The horrid event of the last revolution of arth, where nature showed herself so dire and hostile to led, in the grateful feeling of being saved, to the idea of ing, exalted above nature, quite distinct from it; that this the doctrine of revelation sprang. Thus the French nity-philosophers derive the origin of all religion from frightful catastrophe to the world, and assign its comement to fear, to a fancy excited by terror. The author aken up this view in a more noble and enlarged view, uch as he attributes it more to a feeling of gratitude rds the great Saviour than to a feeling of terror at that event. We may accept and understand, I admit,

n God; in order to express at one and the same time all the signifi- of the particle Eth אֵת, with and to God.

quite in this sense the great thank-offering and natural s
fice of Noah in the Mosaic account; and, indisputably,
dread event in nature must have conduced in many wa
awaken religion and the feeling of God, to reanimate
to give it a new direction. The idea of God, however,
not have been first attained by man in consequence of th
it had not been originally implanted in him. But in no
is it correct to consider as the whole, to wish to pass
as such, what is only *one* moment in the history of the
religion, and what forms only one moment in the qu
respecting the origin and the first development of the
The last, whom Moses mentions in a similar relation
designation, is Melchisedek, who, although he lived i
time of Abraham, yet as being such before the call o
latter, must be classed with the before-mentioned sai
the primitive world. By this very circumstance he fo
new point of union, through which the popularly hist
part of the Genesis becomes linked to the primitively
torical part (*see above*). Although he is named a pri
the most high God, in a threefold repetition of this s
divine name (El Eliun), and as such, offers to Abrah
type of the highest bloodless sacrifice (according to the
custom of the primitive world), he can, nevertheless, s
ing quite alone and apart, be regarded, in nowise, and
as little as those named before, as a proper religious fo
and as a prophetic lawgiver. To this class, which
nates over the second era of the world, belongs, abov
besides Moses, Zoroaster; then the Indian Gautama, a
mind, which altered everything in India (who founde
Nyaya philosophy, who gave rise to the Vedanta-syst
an antithesis to the former, and restored the equ
against innovation by the remodelling of the old doct
His historical name is called by the numerous follow
his religion Buddha (*sapiens, intelligentia, verbum*);
over, Confucius and other prophetic national legislators d
Mahomet. All these were no common, ordinary men, bu
fitted with extraordinary qualities and gifts. Whether,
ever, it was merely a sideral natural force, or also a ba
demoniacal mental power; or, whether it was the spi
God, the force of Elohim, and the light of Jehovah,
impelled them, and in which they taught and worked

ertainly be first investigated and attentively deliberated Undoubtedly, the idea of God must have become tho- y clear and certain to ourselves, before we can decide en the true and the false revelation, which subject be further discussed in this place.

v that we have seen in what manner Moses relates the edge of the true God, even in the primitively historical of the first mundane era, and before the people of am,—how he significantly and pointedly alludes to it in ır points, each constituting an epoch, of Enos, Enoch, and Melchisedek,—it is now the place to say a word ning the view of nature as contained in his account, is enunciated especially in the primitively historical his sacred tradition, in the history of that first time, no written law had as yet been given, and when man ized God only in the revelation of nature, but viewed , however, in God. Every kind of natural cult, or f natural worship, is of course strictly excluded from osaic document. This does not efface the visible pre- of a pure adoration for the divine principle in nature, a contemplation of all the essence and action in nature. cast a look now in this respect on the Mosaic history earth's creation. Much that is both bright and clearly l starts at once to our view; much, too, is passed over ıce, or with brief allusion, as if lost, placed in the back- l, which is not unoften the case in the Genesis, as also representation of nature and the earth's formation. he first breath of life, that which is properly alone real ire, the element of air, is nowhere expressly and em- ally mentioned, except where Jehovah Elohim breathes breath of life" into the son of earth formed of loam v. 7). In the second verse of the history of the n, commented on above, where the Spirit of God upon the waters before the commencement of the new ion of the earth, as the question concerns an influence local and defined, entirely physical and divine, and ord Ruach רוּחַ means besides "the breath of life," ı also conceive, a natural medium of the divine force nnipotence, in the universal element of life, the air, as ing the creative act of nature's palingenesis. In the formation of the earth, however, and in his mode

generally of representing nature, light occupies the first
as we have sufficiently had opportunity above of sh
and referring to. As generally, in the biblical doctrin
language, grace in man is so often represented unde
figure of light, so by alternation is light depicted in
and other parts, as the immediate divine principle, as a
of grace in nature dispensed by God, not indeed absol
and independently, but revered and exalted as a heral
announcer of God's majesty. In the Mosaic formation
world, light is the first awakener and exciter of
earthly life, the great renovator in nature, which in its
age parts the old confusion, and creates order in that
is now separated clearly and firmly. In the first seri
the Mosaic days of work, the element of light is succes
followed by water, earth, and by the plants that
towards the light out of the earth made teeming by w
all of them elements or productions of nature closely
Fire is nowhere expressly mentioned, as light is, altho
otherwise serves in Moses not merely as a figure or typ
even as the medium for the appearing of God in the
of fire, in the flaming bush, &c. Fire, abstractedly
sidered, is more an element of destruction for annihilat
purification, than a principle of life and the forming
world; only when moderated, veiled and latent does it
as such in the warmth of the sun, or as vital flame
veins of creatures animated with blood. In this for
respect it is fundamentally placed in the second series
Mosaic days of work, where the ordering of the viv
stars, and the production of living inhabitants on the
in all departments of nature, are briefly reported.
genial warming sun, and the moon (the latter powe
influencing fermentation, growth, and production, acc
to the view of all ancient nations and many modern n
philosophers, is always to be considered a principle o
warmth, even if very much depressed), lead us, as the
luminaries of day and night, back again to the light,
in Moses forms the beginning, and always remains th
The abundance and fruitfulness of the living creatures
earth, in their nourishing and propagation of numerous
are considered and praised here with delight, as well as
in subsequent passages, by Moses, as a living blessi

The return to the light, however, is here also given
nplied by the thing itself, in the living creatures
ed with blood, especially in man, the crown of all
ones. From the water, or from the earth made
by water, the plant grows up towards the light and
rough it; and yet the flower, as summit of the plant,
h entirely surrendering itself and inclining towards
ht, is only a longing after it, that remains unsatisfied,
es not break forth into the real eye. It is the eye,
t immediately the voluntary movement, which many
of animals have in so slight a degree, or almost not at
d which the plants on the other hand periodically
ach; it is the sun-percipient eye* that makes the
such, and the living what they really are; the eye
in the crown of all mundane living things, in man,
d straight, like the flower, to the light, beams forth in
nderful circle of his face itself as a double sun. Now
this external light, and the visible sun, in comparison
e inward eye, by means of which man sees the light
mind, which shines everlastingly, and by this alone
s an image of God, a refulgence and reflection of his
Thus, on the sixth day of work is closed with man
as begun on the first with light; and in the seventh
n of time follows now the repose of God, after the
completion of the work. If the light, as the most
l thing in the sensual world, forms the sole tropical
which we also find again among the other old Asiatic
in similar dignity, the other is visibly found in the
r biblical view respecting the blood, how it is the soul-
ng and hidden vital fire in all living things, the secret
ory and the sanctuary of life, hallowed by God, which
ptible of so many injuries, and for that very reason to
ed with the most prudential awe. Thus it is said of
not to mention the bloody sacrifices, that his blood
ut to God from the ground, which had opened its
to receive it from the hand of the murderer. When
o, after the flood, instead of his previous mild vege-

* "Were not the eye sunlike,
How could it catch the power of the light?"
a beautiful old (German) verse, a proverbial saying which has
en up and applied extensively in philosophy.

table diet (ch. i. v. 29) of a happier primeval world assigned to him for food living creatures,* he is at the time warned not to touch the blood. Yet now, remar enough, immediately after the terrible catastrophe in n the law is also proclaimed of legal blood-vengeanc retaliatory putting to death. The view in the Bib specting blood, as the other tropical point of the M contemplation of nature, penetrates into the very of the Mosaic law. Hence we cannot here follow thread any further. In what sense, however, also, acc to Moses, the cult of the primitive world was a relig nature, that is peculiarly evident from what is said creation and mission of Adam, of his original relati nature, over which he is placed as lord and ruler, as king, and consequently also as high priest of the sa it is only to serve and be used to the glorification of In this sense, and in the function of a king and high pr nature, must the passage be explained and interpreted, it says of Adam that he gave their names to all living on the earth. As to the so-called origin and first lisp a semizoic natural language, according to the modern fav interpretation (that is, abolition and explaining away divine mind), this passage can, for that very reason, understood, at least not in our view and significati language, because it is expressly said "Jehovah" broug creatures before Adam; to whom he then gave their n Such things do not stand for nought in Moses. Eve usual representations of a blissful sloth of man in Pa are not quite correct, nor Mosaically authorized. Ad expressly placed by God in Paradise, "to dress it a keep it." "To keep it," that is, to defend it; fig against the enemy, who yet contrived afterwards to cre

* Man has the teeth of both genera of animals, the carnivoro those which feed on plants. From this, however, merely follows, was destined and organically constituted to enjoy a great var different articles of sustenance, and also when dressed. For to that man was originally created a carnivorous rapient animal, is o to all probability, contradicting point blank the plainest declarations oldest and most sacred traditions, that the first food of man was table one, decidedly also to be hardly reconciled with Christianit the view which this and Christian philosophy gives us of the first m his original condition.

dress it," certainly not for the common necessaries of
s afterwards, when "the ground was cursed for his
" therefore to what other object should it be cultivated,
to the ever greater glorification of God?
w that we have put aside or opposed with fitting argu-
ll that concerns the science of the earth and the last
tions of it in the primitively historical research of the
, moreover have dilated on the origin and the original
of religion, touching on the Zendavesta and everything
the author deems remarkable in it, also the properly
stood sense of the Genesis, and all this as copiously as
ere possible, we turn now to the author's opinion of
imitive language, this being the subject most nearly
to the foregoing. In sooth it is with the investigation
e origin and original constitution of the first language,
h the question concerning the origin of religion. The
is here just as it was there, whether we shall begin
ith with that which really is the first everywhere, with
nd in its effectivity, or shall attempt to worm out the
gradually from the sensual maze, to fasten it on behind
accidental excrescence. It was remarkable to us, how
thor does not so much hold the middle path between
hese opinions as he is divided between them. The one
n, which makes language artificially work itself up by
s to a form of reason and a spiritual importance from
a mere animal cry or of an utterance that imitates a
in nature, receives the author's sanction by the maxim
, and the following pages), that the primitive language
ave been monosyllabic. The other opinion, which con-
that language may have very possibly commenced with
rest and with a spiritual importance, and which regards
s cultivated languages as degraded ones, so far captivates
at he sees and acknowledges the inward inseparable
tion (p. 76) between the polysyllabic, organically arti-
l and constructed language, and the wonderful discovery
) of alphabetical writing. Nevertheless, it is necessary
e at once remove to entirely historical ground in this
gation, for the primitive language—properly so to be
, and at all events decidedly ante-historical—is sepa-
y too wide a chasm from us and our present state, that
the author's, nor even my own researches, would be

able to throw the requisite bridge across, so as to open a way for general communication with that "lost word" primitive language. That would be for instance the lan to be called really primitive in the right sense, which M the passage above mentioned alludes to, and which is ac meant in it according to our opinion, during the tim Adam still possessed the divine fiat in nature; that h cuted this sway of nature, not indeed by his own pow authority, but by God's will and license, under Jeh guidance and assistance, till he sank into that perniciou through which he succumbed to the power of the senses. also, when man had fallen sick in his sin (Enos is th called, and the radical signification implies "sick"), wh had found again the mysterious, miraculous name of th God, had called upon it for help from the depth of his n this could not happen without his having necessarily recognized, and discovered the inner, essential, real na very many natural powers and things contemporaneousl that supreme word. But all this, as more suitable to Ch philosophy, to which it unquestionably in part belon author would rather have excluded from the primitive torical research. We, therefore, will not pursue this w longer, and will immediately enter with the author purely historical ground, where, among the old and languages actually and virtually known to us, the diff between the polysyllabic and monosyllabic presents it us as the proper main point for the whole investigation. we certainly find a language of a nature completely syllabic, of inconceivable old age, and, at the same time, most artificial formation,—namely, the Chinese. On thi it would be difficult to decide concerning the most ancien of the one or the other kind, especially if considere merely historical point of view with respect to time. P sole question is properly, which was the main stem and the lateral branch. On the other hand, the questio cerning the intrinsic value is easily decided. The po labic languages are entirely, even into the innermost t of the living tissue, formed organically in the roots as grammatical form, and that deeply pervading etymol relationship which has interwoven itself almost over the

ce of the earth, through all the branches of the Indian, ς, Latin, Persian, and German languages, and which is noter connection also with the Phœnician and Arabian, less too with the whole of the Sclavonic tongues. The syllabic language, on the other hand, has no really in-, organic life, but forms a mere aggregate of isolated which, without inner development as it became more nore enlarged, passes off at last into an endlessly artificial n of the most arbitrary and wholly conventional language ns, as among the Chinese, where at length the chaos of ccepted writing-ciphers must come to the succour of the cribable poverty and ambiguity of the oral language, so become barely intelligible. Picture-writing, from the can painting, through all the symbolico-priestly secret age of the Egyptian hieroglyphs down to the endlessly ial cipher-chaos of the Chinese, will ever remain subor-e. Even in the author's eyes it will, who recognizes the zing discovery" (p. 73) of letters, as inseparably connected the formation of the polysyllabic or organic language, and ssigns the highest antiquity to this discovery of writing 3 and 76); nay he seems inclined to regard it as original, s, entirely coeval with the first awaking of the human

The author, however, has not stated more circumstan-in what this connection consists between the polysyllabic ages and alphabetical writing, although it may undeni-e shown. Alphabetical writing is founded on a decom-ling, very artificial if you will, but perhaps also from very al causes, of each human tone into its single and simple nts. Now the formation of a language thus growing up polysyllabic roots depends on such a discompounding of ject denoted. It is not an apish vocal imitation of the al object, an involuntary exclamation of the internal as in the monosyllabic languages, but a really mental ehension of all the different inward or outward vital s and demonstrations of power. It is polysyllabic in the oots, which are already limbed and even words. It is, ore, not merely uttered according to the rude total ssion, but mentally analyzed according to the dynamic tuent parts and its internal elements. To these, such as are in nature, may well correspond in varied and deep gy the elements also of the human voice analyzed and

dissected into vowels, consonants, into the spiritual breat
and accent. This then would be the proper wonder of hu
language, if we otherwise wish to give sufficient weigh
length to the historical proofs against a groundless theory b
on old prejudice of universal and original sensuality and
of mind, in order not to deny any longer a communicatio
speech, originally true and essential, that is to be called re
human. This was and still is far more than a play of decep
and caprice, composed of animal cries, of a few images and
trary signs. Hence, therefore, can be first perfectly expla
the inner connection, pointed out in general by the au
of alphabetical writing with polysyllabic language, as
both are based on the same dynamical analysis and takin
both of the inner elements of the human voice, and of the
nomena in life, as the object of language; they are based
on the shaping out of those elements to an organic form, a
perty that remains in each development to what has bee
taken up in its elements and dynamically united, because
germ for it lay already in the first origin. This dynamical o
tally spiritual mode of taking up and appropriating the elem
of speech is what forms the grand and essential difference
tween the two different classes of primitive languages, the p
syllabic-organic and the monosyllabic-aggregate langua
The author, by acknowledging the connection between alp
betical writing and the organic languages, admits at once t
higher rank with respect to inward worth and spiritual conte
and to such languages belong the Indian, the Latin and Gr
then in a somewhat more remote line the German and Pers
still more remotely and partly in another manner the Aral
Syriac and Sclavonic tongues. But the author cannot re
them either the chief rank with respect to time and
provided that the discovery of alphabetical writing is of
high antiquity as he asserts (pp. 73 and 76), or if it was per
original, as he appears to assume. The existence of pr
tively old original languages of the monosyllabic class, w
class must ever be regarded as a branch and offshoot of
first lingual stem, can easily be explained, as soon as we
cede "a sinking back of language" as conceivable, suc
the author does, who meets us here half way (p. 76), and
explain not less ingeniously than satisfactorily that "sin
back of language" by the "forgetting of writing," namel

betical characters, inseparable from it. Here, however, ust remember, that that fall of the mind, attributable ps to many and different causes, will occasion also a ence of language, and that this therefore may take place ore ways than one. As far as the signs of writing oncerned, the author might have mentioned, besides icture-writing, and the elementary signs, or letters, er kind also of mathematical, or real signs, which r the thought or object entirely by one sign, cording to the essence of the thing itself, without picreference or arbitrary assumption. To these belong the decimal figures, imparted to us through the medium Arabs; a discovery, which deserves no less to be astonishing, than that of literal characters. At least nnot help seeing how this entirely corresponds to a real n the straight stroke as mark of unity, in the threeed figure of the three; the denoting of nought by the is also especially remarkable, although all the figures either not preserved their original form, or this is no to be recognized in them. The Indian decimal figures en distinguished from those signs of notation that are sed, like the Roman ones, of strokes placed alongside ther, or of initial letters, by this, that these ever form an aggregate of numbers mechanically placed near nother, whereas in the Indian decimal system the true elements of all number are vividly and dynamically and organically disposed. Hence, also, the whole world mbers can be turned to account with so much life and rful efficacy in comparison with the pitiful aid that is d from a mechanical notation of numbers. In this respect cimal arithmetic has precisely the same relation to the nical arithmetic notation, that the elementary notation of etical writing has to the typical or conventional word-; there is a great analogy between the two. To this belong also the remarkable metaphysico-mathematical gns of the Chinese, which depend on the same cause. I the eighth Koua and symbols composed of them, con- of one straight and one broken line, as signs of unity ality (the Platonic ἑτερον), from which, step by step, compositions, according to the manifold, mathematically e cases, are formed with a very ingenious signification.

But since this metaphysical linear writing could by no m
suffice for the whole extent of the language and the abund
of the phenomena in life to be denoted, it came then, notv
standing the absence of the elementary signs, to that im
surable chaos of ciphers which distinguishes the Chi
language from all others. These dynamic real signs ar
suredly not to be overlooked in any future investigation int
origin and the original nature of alphabetical writing, for
in all that is essential stand probably much nearer to it
every hieroglyphical or pictorial writing. We do not me
deny that many alphabets contain to some extent indivi
traces of a pictorial nature. How far the arrow-headed
ing entirely belongs to one of these kinds, or perhaps for
medial link and a point of transition from the one mo
typifying a language to the other, cannot yet be regarde
definitively ascertained.

If now the question is, in a merely historical sense,
cerning a human primitive language, we must entirely set
what has been alluded to above concerning the essence o
creatively active word in a philosophical sense, or what o
in old theology. It is also decidedly not unknown to the
davesta, but is mentioned there by the name of Honover
Zend appellation for that metaphysical idea of the et
word, which in all that is essential agrees with the M
and Christian idea of the divine fiat. Historically taken
primitive language, according to what has been said ab
can only be sought for in the class of the organically fo
languages, since we must recognize this as the main stem
parent-stock of human languages, in accordance with all
the author himself concedes. Not that any one in parti
among these is to be fixed upon, as being that one,
which all the rest must have been derived, as perhaps s
thing, that I said in my work on India about the San
has been misunderstood contrary to my intention, or as,
haps, our author might appear, here and there, inclin
assign to the Zend language the first place at all e
among all the others, as likewise to the Zend trad
the greatest age. In the comparative analysis, eithe
rected to etymological concordance, or to the structu
grammatical configuration, when applied to the whole cl
all organic languages, all of which are intimately allie

another, and which form throughout the dialects of the different nations only one grand family of tongues, the question can be, which of them is most organically ed, which least have lost this structure, and have most rved that character in simple regularity. By this dard we can easily distribute into different classes of oximation the collective organically-formed languages. too, without wishing to find out, with positive certainty seless efforts or from one-sided partiality, the common nt and radical language itself, as it was spoken in the of Eri, or in any other primeval country after the last trophe in nature. According to the present state of our l knowledge of language, both in comparative grammar historically-founded etymology, there belong to the first of approximation to the organic primitive or parental iage, the Sanscrit or Old-Indian, in particular, together the Latin, and also the Greek. I must observe here, our philologists of classical antiquity, who have gone those investigations, consider the Latin as merely allied, at the same time an elder form of the Greek. The an, and with it all the German and Gothic languages, then a second class. The Sclavonic tongues, whether profound judges wish to place them in the first or d class, belong in every case to the organic kind. To family the Arabico-Syriac tongues appertain only in a ter degree, and with many modifications. Now where Zend language is to be placed in this series, and to which it belongs, is, from the materials extant, not easy to e with certainty. This will be especially the case, so as we know so little of what is the most important, its mar and construction, so as to be able to come to a decirespecting its organic constitution and formation.

ne author mentions several times its close affinity to the an language, and appears even to consider it as a mere ct of the latter. Now the first question is, whether this ty is a very close and original one, or merely one more te; which, indeed, may be asserted also of ten or twenty languages. I wish to decide nothing here, but merely doubts, and mention the reasons on both sides from what een given. Of the little that is known concerning the ruction and grammar of the Zend language, Anquetil

himself has adduced some extremely remarkable analogie
the declension to the Georgian language (in the Cauca
country); some of it coincides with Indian forms. Eve
the alphabet of the Zend language there is much tha
peculiar; for instance, in the great number of the letter
the special character of the long vowels, the including
nasal AN among the latter, the annexing of the lette
to other consonants, which reminds us of the constructio
the Indian system of writing, and is only found again in
language. In the Zend dictionary, published by Anqu
there is a considerable number of words undeniably Ind
and with a more complete knowledge of the latter langu
with greater means for acquiring it than I possess, per
many more would be found, without giving way to any
certain conjectures. A considerable number of these w
are such as express the first and most common wants. T
are also in their form, and in the changes they undergo,
fectly similar to the Indian; though for the most part,
such exception, the termination and formation of word
the Zend language appear very peculiar and different. S
others are technical words from the Sanscrit, which
passed over almost wholly unchanged; they bear less
character of roots originally common to both, than of t
nical words borrowed from the other; among them, in
ticular, some metaphysical ones are remarkable,* because
might lead to suppositions concerning the connectio
mutual influence of the doctrine and the system. Tha
Zend language belongs to the mixed ones, appears also t
confirmed by the dictionary, from the circumstance th
contains, together with the words of Indian affinity, so l
a number in common with the Pehlvi language, this
quite independent of the religious terms. Now should
asserted that all these words were first adopted by the P
from the Zend, this would be deciding the question b
the investigation. Among the religious words of the Zo
trian books only a very few can be positively shown t
allied to the Indian; if, therefore, the Zend were r
an Indian dialect, we should be obliged far rather to re

* The much spoken of zeruane akerene, boundless time, in the
books, might perhaps be nothing but the Indian Sarvam akhyaran—
indivisum, or *indivisibile*, the παν και ἓν of the Vedanta doctrine.

vords as originally belonging to the Pehlvi. It is cer-
not a little singular, that while the Pehlvi language
e use of it is sufficiently confirmed in the old Persian
m by inscriptions and coins, the Zend language is
y destitute of this virtual confirmation. There is also
ing remarkable in the dictionary that belongs to this
namely, the totally different names for several car-
umbers, which is usually a characteristic peculiarity of
languages, as in the Coptic for instance, the duplicate,
old Egyptian, partly Grecian names for the first
ls.* Should now the Zend language, as it has be-
nown to us, be a mixed dialect of more recent origin,
ould most naturally have to look for its seat in the
vestern frontier regions of India, where then most
that land, extending far and wide between India and
from Little Thibet, called by the ancient name of
nd which is given to the whole fluvial district of the
(qui incolis Sindus appellatus), offers in the very name
coincidence. It is not, it must be confessed, an
complete one; since the initial consonant, though
milar in sound, is carefully discriminated in the nota-
the Oriental languages. Nevertheless the analogy is
e removed entirely than the higher signification of the
Zend, which means living, in the sense that the Zend
were such. It implies, that they, by the recognition
true light, alone veritably lived; and that the Zend
are those in which this doctrine of the true life is
ed and revealed, &c. &c. There are too many ex-
in Asiatic antiquity, that a higher signification and
ation have been thus given to the real name of a

s besides its *drei* (three) and *thretim* (third), exactly as in the
tin-German family, there is also for the same number three, the
as in the Pehlvi, and then the exotic word *teschro* entirely foreign
thers. Moreover, *peantche* (five), as in the Indian and Persian,
ten), just as in the family of tongues above alluded to; but
ite independent of these, *pokhdé* (five), and *mro* (ten), together
Indo-Latin *doué* (two), there is also *besch* (two), corresponding
atin *bis*; and this root is remarkable in the form *betim* (second),
also allied to the German *beid-e* (both). The Zend word
(four) is connected with several languages, as *chatur*, Ind.;
Lat.; *tschetyr*, Sclav. Many of these numerals in the Zend
y are connected with the Indo-Latin-Persian-German family;
less *kschouasch* (six) seems to be entirely foreign.

geographically defined land by means of a religious all
or that the consecrated name has been also transferre
lastingly attached to the actual land. That which, hov
decides against this supposition, is the circumstance
nothing whatever is found of a Zend language and a
people in the definitive historical sense in the sources, n
in the Zoroastrian, nor in the new Persian ones tha
founded on old tradition, and on documents. The Z
always used in the symbolico-religious sense, for desig
the true "life" of those possessing the right knowledg
doctrine of Zoroaster, and of still older masters; their
lation of this life, and also for signalizing the supporters
or the participants in the revelation of the true life.
entire question of the relationship of the so-called Zen
guage, and a judgment concerning its construction, can
formed satisfactorily, till we possess a grammar of it.
perhaps, all these doubts, which I only produce as suc
be perhaps cleared up, and the so-called Zend languag
preserve and justify, according to the views of the a
its full rank as a primitively old and original language
related to the Indian. Independently of this, it i
evident, from the whole context, that Zoroaster's d
and books were diffused among several nations, that be
to the great Persian empire, were, consequently, also
lated with great probability into several languages. N
disadvantageous for the genuineness of the tradition
in whatever language the fragments may happen t
been preserved. The sense of documents, regarded as
is not easily corrupted essentially by pure translation
on the other hand, it is seriously endangered by any
tional alteration. Together with the grammar, nothing w
so desirable, as the original copy or impression of the
or at all events of a considerable portion of the text
original language; for the few verses, which have bee
municated to us (see Kleuker's Zendavesta, ii. p. 48),
to us alone far more than many individual words. Now,
these verses, there are decidedly some entire phrase
closely allied to the Indian, nay, some sound exactly si

The calling it the Zend language, usual and gener
has become, appears for the rest, judging by eve
mentioned above, to be not much more appropriate tha

to call the language of the Mosaic books the Thora
age, or the Hellenic dialect of the New Testament, the
l language. We must inquire after the people who
this language, and so let us now turn from these
ks concerning the primitive language, and the language
e Zoroastrian books, as the connection of the subject
ally leads us, to what the author adduces respecting the
tive people and the Zend people, their original native
as likewise their migrations from this primitive country
other regions upon the evidence and authority of the
strian books.—"The Zend people," he quotes from one
em (p. 21), "dwelt" (in the happy primeval period
the existence of winter and the migrations into warmer
districts) "in the land of Eri, Ari."—The name of
d people," I do not find in the passage quoted; but the
on is concerning the first people and human race, accord-
the doctrine of these books and this tradition. Now,
vas this race or nation called, or what people was it,
nhabited the land of Ari? The ancients named them,
the land itself, the people of the Arians. There is no
that the land Eeriene is identical with the province
or Ariana, of the Greeks, the modern Chorasan. I
for the last assertion to the judgment of a learned
, whose authority in everything connected with Persian
ities is of the greatest and acknowledged value, the
counsellor, Von Hammer, who has had the kindness
mmunicate to me his opinion upon this point, but who at
me time remarked, that also Ver, which in the Shah-
is called Iran, must by no means be confounded with
. The city, however, of Ver-ene, cannot be Per-
s, as Anquetil very truly asserts, but is the Hekatom-
of the Greeks, the capital of ancient Parthia; the
di is the mountain range in Chorasan, in a more
ded sense, however, the whole mountain chain from
sus to the Himalaya. The province Aria is also, no
a mountainous highland country, such as Eeriene is
bed, and the streams which water Bactria and Sog-
partly descend from the Paropamisus. This exactly
with the passage which the author cites (p. 25). For
est Aria may have had, in the historical sense even, a
r importance and extent than the limitation and site

which are assigned to this province in the geographical sy
of the Greeks. A Grecian author himself speaks (see C
zer, Symbol. vol. i. p. 698, note 40, and p. 736, note 9
" the whole Arian race " (παν τυ Αρειον γενος), as of a
and widely-diffused people. In the Indian code of Men
almost unmeasured extent, through the Indian northern r
tains, as far as the East and West seas, is assigned to
verta, the land of the Arians.

Let us now remember, that the Medes from the
ancient times were called Arians, *i.e.* that the Medes v
people of the " great Arian race," and that they assume
Median name at a later period. Much that was hi
dark and inexplicable now suddenly becomes clear.
need no longer reject the positive historical evidence
Zoroaster was a Mede, while the Zend books cons
allude to Eeriene, since the apparent contradiction cea
exist. What we have hitherto called the Zend lang
would, perhaps, in accordance with what those Zoroa
sources themselves reveal concerning the real origina
and race where this doctrine obtained, be more appropr
recognized and considered as the Arian language, or if
preferred, as the East-Median in opposition to the
Median Pehlvi language. This, however, is sup
what has hitherto been termed the Zend language
which we define as the Arian, should turn out, upon a
intimate knowledge of it, to be an old original lan
and not a mixed dialect of more recent origin. The
too, of this great Arian people, is very remarkable.
Indian root, Ari, which derivation seems to be the
signifies something admirable and distinguished, gl
that which is " egregium." A warlike, heroic peo
always inclined to give itself epithets of a like nature,
this sense. Thus the other West-Median name, Peh
signifies a hero. The Persians called their heroic an
Artæans, which name has some resemblance to that
Arians, but to which we by no means wish to ascribe an
mological value. Derived from an entirely different ro
with a similar allusion and meaning in the name, n
added to the instances just given the neighbouring pe
the Aspians, on the eastern slope of the Paropamisus, to
the Indus. It is not difficult to explain this word, fo

asp means in the Indian and the Persian, as also in the or Ari, a horse, the transition (as in the Homeric) is here easily found. Warlike, horse-compelling s have been often called, or call themselves, by a popular of this description, and as in this instance. I, how- have introduced the name of Aspian people here, e that wide-spread appellation, *asp*, so constantly in the old generic names of the Zoroastrian books, and edian-Persian heroic saga, which is certainly deserving ntion. The name of Arians is allied too in another which much more immediately concerns us. That root, Ari, is decidedly and indisputably a German one ctually existing in the language, and still obtaining in we can speak in this manner of "Ehre" (honour). ling to our analogy of language, and to the present f this root, that popular name would be tantamount as to the honours, that is, the honourable, the noble. ly in this way the West German tribes were named n" (heirs), or "Wehren" (defenders), as conveying ea of free inhabitants of the land and men wearing vith the right to do so; this name, indeed, was applied whole people. In the earlier and Gothic form that as similarly pronounced in German, *ari*, or *ario*. All who have attentively observed how widely spread and revalent this root, ari, or ario, is, in the old German and mythic tradition, among so many heroic and names, and elsewhere, will not be surprised when I at I have for a long time entertained the historical ition, and for which I have found confirmation from sources, that we should seek for our German ancestors they were still in Asia, especially under the name of ; or to express it more appropriately, with the Greeks, d above, under "the whole great Arian family." By eans the old saga and opinion relative to the relation- the Germans, or German and Gothic tribes, with the as, would all at once receive a totally new light, and a e historical point of connection. To the circumstance, ome German roots and words, striking from their com- similarity, are found in the dictionary of the Zend, or, ould now prefer saying, Ari language, I will not attach urther importance, because resemblances and pecu-

liarities of this sort are often seen among nations remote from and entirely unconnected with each other. Chovaresm, also, according to Mirchond (see Hammer's H of Persian Arts of Speech, p. 137), was once called Jer striking as it is when compared with what Herodotu tions of an old Persian race of Germans, as one of th agricultural tribes (see Hammer's remark as paged a we will not yet deem as conclusive, since the similarity name may be accidental, like as the seeming resembla the name to the Indian Samanæans, which means som quite different, and denotes the votaries of Buddha, posed to the followers of Brahma. The more especially s the name of Germans, so widely diffused since, arose later on the Western Roman frontier of Old Saxony evidenced historically and undeniably. But I do regard more remarkable, that Bokhara, according to Mirchon Hammer as cited above), "in the language of the Magi," means the gathering-place of the sciences, a in Ulfilas, as is well known, Bokareis should mean a man. I do not pretend to deny that I do certainly c myself warranted in regarding the land of Chovares Bokhara as the first historically known dwelling shown at least to be probable, of our Teutonic auces Asia. During the course of my observations respecti Arian people and their name, I did not confine solely to the threads of the etymological relationship guage, and to the delight of weaving these any longe something else results from the investigation, which in respect also is historically very important. Nothing, is so essential, or throws so much light on researches t an ancient people (I speak of those Asiatic and Eu ones, who have a tradition and traces of an olden c as first of all to ascertain whether it was a priest-pe the Indians, Egyptians, Hetrurians, or a warrior-peop is, a people founded by the warrior-caste, or where thi preserved its pre-eminence. Not that the warrior nati no priests, and we know that the priestly nations, above, had their war-caste also; it is the dominant that we must regard. We leave out of considerati the trading nations, and generally all those, where an third element, except the two named, has produc

ant character in all the institutions of life. The two classes in the whole of the ancient world, as known to e formed by the sacerdotal nations, and by the warlike s of heroes or nobles. The last are mostly, or at all very frequently, designated as such by their very . Thus in the present day robber tribes in India, ed to war, have denominations of this nature, for the ttas (great Rajahs) and the Rajpoots (sons of the s) are such, and derived from the war-caste. A similar cation is conveyed by the two most comprehensive of the old German tribes: Teutons, that is, Thuidans, in the Gothic means kings, princes, masters, lords; oths, that is, nobles (as Gothakunds of noble descent). precisely in this way the old Medes were called Pehlvan, , heroes, as then it is certain the Medes of Zoroaster noble heroic nation of this description.' The name of s means the same, from whom the Medes descended, as plained above from the Indian root the signification of ame, and proved it even in the old German language. old institution of castes, to which we have been led in urse of the investigation, is touched upon by the author sorily (p. 49) as it is unsatisfactory. His opinion is, ey proceeded from a distribution and parcelling out of dian races that took place originally at the first immi- ; but he offers us, in point of fact, no materials for ng this branch of inquiry further with him. To be do this, it would be requisite for us to know, in the ace, whether he considers the institution of castes as d, in its first outlines at least, antediluvian, or com- immediately after the great catastrophe; or whether he it modern, and not founded till after the origin of s and states. As for the description of the confused rcelled-out condition of the Indians, we do not know the author derived his reasons from. One thing is at rtain, that his views of the Indians themselves are te of all clearness and precision. Considering the r of sources, and the chronology that is not historical, hich we have never thoroughly disengaged ourselves the Indian investigations, considering also the con- opinions of the learned in Europe on this subject and this is not difficult to understand, so long as there is a

want of a critical support and historical prop for enabl
to arrange and dispose the whole. The one grand c
diction, however, that prevails throughout Indian tra
and collective literature, namely, between the religi
Brahma and the doctrine of Buddha, which even the G
in Alexander's time found there, in the two sects or rel
parties of the Bramins and the Samanæans, may certai
historically cleared up and explained away. This fact,
has altered and split up everything in India, and i
people who, in their mental culture, are, or were, depe
on India, forms now that very historical support by me
which light and order first pervade the whole, as I
attempt to show in another place.*

The question, too, concerning the primitive state, an
it was constituted, about which Hüllman has given us
such interesting inquiries, has been quite neglected b
author, although he so carefully endeavours to ascerta
entire primitive condition both in religion and langua
also with respect to the land originally inhabited by th
human race. This omission of the state, in his investig
may be perhaps less regretted, since he seems not to h
yet perceived the proper point for commencing them
Here, before all things, it would be incumbent to solv
decide the question, so important in many respects, wh
the different ranks—that is, in the old world—whethe
castes, in short, were older, or whether the state was.

* In what relates to the objections which the author has adva
his former work (" On the Age and Value of some Oriental Rec
against the genuineness and age of Menu's Indian Code already all
further back, with respect to Sir W. Jones's and my declaration
treatise on the language and wisdom of the Indians ; I will simply
here on this occasion, that those objections are in so far well founde
the question cannot be at all, whether this work first proceede
Menu, since the contrary is proved by the work itself. The judgm
Sir W. Jones was principally founded on the antiquity of the lan
and when I at that time subscribed to the judgment and great au
of Jones on this point, I for the present, and until further reas
adduced, see no grounds for not doing so still. I grant that it is n
but a relatively great age, that can be concluded on from the antiq
the language ; but that the Indian Code of Menu, notwithstandi
great limitation of the supposed great age, may well be a source
mean importance for old tradition and historical knowledge, the
himself seems to recognize, since he on several occasions resorts
uses it as such.

word "state" in its proper signification, as a peace-
ution guaranteed by the power of war, and which,
ugh it is at the same time founded on internal peace, is
theless immediately directed to external peace or war;
lthough of mutable circumference or extent, has never-
s, as a moral individual thing, its boundaries strictly
l against everything external. In point of fact, the
rsal and favourite expression of "primitive people" is
orrect, if we, as the author in the main decidedly does,
our departure from the unity of descent; for in that case
can be no question of a primitive people, but only of a
ive or original stock, from which all nations are de-
and by which we mean therefore nothing but the con-
of mankind that obtained before the distribution of
nto nations, and previous to the origin of any individual
e. They, it is true, who do not take their departure
one common descent, but assume that man has sprung
everywhere from the earth, differently fashioned
ling to the different nature of the country, are on the
hand quite right in their sense of the term when they
of primitive races in the plural number, since they
to acknowledge the primitively historical unity, and
ot allow it to have ever existed. Now with the author,
manifestly gives the preference to the system of unity,
ho endeavours to show, how all nations emigrated and
escended from one primeval land (the central high land
a), it is therefore only an inconsistency when he also
s at times (pp. 48 and 52) of primitive peoples, that are
o have preserved themselves here and there in the deep
s of the great range of lofty mountains, like a genus of
ls in solitary districts, that has indeed grown scarce,
hich is still found. If we do not mistake, he has bor-
this opinion from Ritter, in other respects a very
ent geographical writer, who is, however, still some-
touched with that hypothesis of Antochthones. This,
otwithstanding the wealth, so genially amassed by him-
f ethnographic facts and remarks, in his grand arranged
es, leads us palpably and evidently back to an original
of all nations derived from the three main parent

.

we now return to the primeval land of Eeriene, as it is

designated in the Zendavesta, it is manifest, by the mo
which the other countries are adjoined to it and ranged
line around it, that it is used in a sense perfectly histori
defined, and bounded with geographical accuracy. It
the same time set down in the midst of other countri
the parent land of the Arian people, as the main lan
their origin. Now, according to the author's own rul
must carefully discriminate before all things in every old
torical tradition the Universal from what is special, natio
peculiar and geographically local. Thus, in the Zend
for instance, Jemjid is a connecting point of this descri
with the Universal, since Shem, not only in this tradi
but also in the Mosaic and other Asiatic ones, takes s
portant a place in the derivation and history of the desce
nations. Afterwards there are some more detached
valuable indications, as for instance, a very beautiful
cation is contained in that myth of the nine human
who wandered across the sea; consequently, as the a
explains it (pp. 54 and 55), may have, perhaps, first pe
Africa. Everything, however, seems to be local in the
graphical views given of the world and various lands i
Zendavesta. First of all, Eeriene, or the Ari land, is
rately defined the original country of the Arians, the p
Aria of the ancients. Among the fifteen blessed regions
spots that are ranged around this centre, the first are
dently, and without a shadow of doubt, Sogdiana and Ba
Among those that follow, many are doubtful and capa
being explained in more ways than one. Though the
not situated to the south of that centre in a geograp
sense, they may, nevertheless, in a climatical sense, as va
and low lands, be described as warmer ones in compa
with the old mountainous seat of nativity,—the cradle o
race. The eastern provinces are very conspicuous; nam
the Sind regions of Cabool and Lahore, or the Punjaub;
them, Candahar also, the Arachosia of the ancients, an
country near the river Hindmend. The design of the dra
up of the old record was, perhaps, less directed to the r
senting of "the whole great Arian family of nations
their common descent, which at all events was certainly
his only object. It seems far more probable to have bee
intention at the same time to comprehend and describe i

phical views of the earth, the great Median empire hich coming after the Assyrian, preceded the Persian greatest extent, inclusive not only of the nations and es that formed it, but also of those by which it was d. It is remarkable in this geographical description, cording to the more correct interpretation of Ver and , as alluded to further back, Persis is given quite as as Babylonia, or Susiana. Of Assyria, too, only the orthern part, on the confines of Armenia, is introduced ery ambiguous way, but no mention is made of it in her sense of the Assyrian empire. The extreme fron- this great extent, as designated in that description, is towards the west by Armenia; that is to say, if the th blessed region, Rengheiao,* in Pehlvi Arvestanove, tly explained as the northern portion of Assyria con- s to Armenia. (Kleuker, vol. ii. p. 303.) From what en here advanced, it appears now evidently to follow, his geographical description in the Zendavesta is an Assyro-Babylonian, nor a Persian (taken from the as founded by Cyrus), but most decidedly a Median If this point could be regarded as certain, then much ould be thrown upon the whole, notwithstanding great ty and obscurity still hang over isolated parts. It be very desirable if some learned men, provided with proper sources that explain the ancient geography of and deeply versed in Oriental languages, would tho- y explain this entire Median list of countries, such as ound in the Vendidad (Fargard, i., in Kleuker, part ii. 9, 304), from which the author, Mr. Rhode, only selects best corresponds to his hypothesis. Then a definite ent could be come to, whether there was any reason suming a twofold and double Ari land and Eeriene. ccording to the author, is the first and original native y of the Arians in the north or north-west part of ana; but which as yet is mere hypothesis. The other main central land of the Median empire, founded by arent stock of the Arians, namely, the Aria of the ts, and which is both historically and geographically n. Towards the north-west this Medo-Arian descrip-

ccording to Görre, in his translation just published of the Scha- Introd. p. xlix., Rengheiâ is the province Zarangia, Sareng.

tion in the Zendavesta extends, as already observed, in case further than up to Armenia, or as far as the north of Assyria. The other terminal point towards the so east is, on the other hand, more clearly defined. It is for by the fifteenth blessed region, Hapte Heands, or the se Indias, respecting which the record adds, remarkably enou that this blissful region "surpasses all the other kingdom the world in size and extent." This very circumsta obliges us to regard the compilation of these books as hav taken place in the neighbourhood of India, for only the spot could so distinct and complete an idea have b formed of the greatness, population, and importance of region of the globe. The Arian race, however, is also scribed in an Indian source, quite clearly in my eyes closely allied to the Indian, both by descent and langu In that often-discussed passage of Menu's code (criticise the author's other work, "On the Age and Value of s Oriental Records," p. 64), where the question regards alienation from the Bramins, the neglect of Braminical n ners and usages, the warrior-castes that had thrown off yoke of civilization, and the nations that sprang from th it says at the conclusion, "All these are Dasyus (or datory tribes living in a state of war), whether they sp the language of the Mlecchas, or that of the Aryas." Mlecchas are barbarian tribes, alien to the Indians, bot race and language. Now since these are mentioned in dent contradistinction to the Arians, it is tantamoun saying, they are all savage and desperate robber tr whether they are barbarians, or even Arians, the latter b actually allied to the Indians both in race and language.

Now, if the author takes his Eeriene historically in more extended sense than the Zendavesta does, and reg it as the whole of the primitive land after the Flood, ther the central high land of Asia, no objection in this respe to be made. Only he ought then to remain steadfast to comprehensive view of his, and not limit it again himself partial manner. For it is self-evident, that in the primiti historical tradition of each nation, according to the parti locality, the point situated nearest to that nation has greatest importance assigned to it. The author hi grants the possibility, that the Caucasus may have fo

nd asylum" (p. 29), and that, generally speaking, y have been "more than one primitive land" (p. 28). uld prefer giving at once to *one* primitive land a extent, and not confining it within such narrow It must also not be overlooked, into what wide f the earth one and the same name for vast moun- l countries, in the old world, was often applied and . The name of the Caucasus gives us an instance of ikewise of the Imaus, and lastly of Asia itself. If, , the Himalaya and the Hindukush lie nearest the p. 24), and are especially named before all others in n tradition; if the Altai (p. 52) forms the pivot, as for the first immigration of the North-Asiatic tribes, Ural designs the great, old national way (p. 53) to , that is, to northern and central Europe; so Moses ht not to be passed over with such indifference, ie makes the patriarch Noah rest with the ark on Ararat. Each tradition, as we see, refers on the t to one and the same central high land, and to one Asiatic mountain-chain, in all its wide ramifica- f Anquetil's opinion were the right one, which places at the foot of the Albordi, in the land that is watered Kur and Araxes, the declaration of the Zendavesta, g to this interpretation, would then agree very closely t of Moses. From what was quoted and examined ner back, this explanation relative to Eeriene cannot dmitted; but an agreement so very accurate and s neither to be expected nor sought for in this case. eless, where the explaining of ancient geography is with so much doubt, and where the best opinion most part only the more probable one, this ought to diffident, and not too eager, for the sake of a pre- l opinion, to reject any old Asiatic tradition, how s, then, the Mosaic document.

this remark we conclude this communication re- the work of the author. It has, perhaps, been too drawn up. Should I have succeeded in producing ion in his mind, that Moses and the Genesis may be, regarded also in another and different point of view at he has hitherto done, I should rejoice, if my ons on this score should be not deceived, or be even

surpassed. In every case my design was to examine t roughly and seriously, excluding all partiality from primitively-historical inquiry; to show, also, that what is c too frequently represented as entirely separate or even c tradictory, when rightly understood, agrees perfectly together. Lastly, it is indeed high time that the two nesses of the living truth and clear knowledge of antiqu viz. "writ and nature," should no longer be used and used in mutual opposition, that they should lie, dead fo more exalted knowledge, neglected in the lane, abandc to the scorn of ignorant understanding. The moment visibly arrived when they shall rise again victoriously loud witnesses of the divine truth so long misunderstooc the greater and ever greater glorification of that truth in science and in life. It is doing but a sorry servic religion, or rather to both, when we put religion in o sition to science, to which this esoterical branch of his also so essentially belongs. Now if, in this first attemp a profounder understanding of this subject, much shoul still found that will be, perhaps, "a stumbling-block tc Jews, and to the Greeks a foolishness," as all that is ceived in a Christian manner with science for the most is, I nevertheless know that this way, which I have attem to point out here, will be more and more recognized, more universally perfected, because it is the right one.

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